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ADMINISTRATOR

Sue Challinor, 12 Macclesfield Road, Hazel Grove, Stockport SK7 6BE

tel.: 0161 456 6200

admin@vdgs.org.uk

THE VIOLA DA GAMBA SOCIETY JOURNAL

General Editor: Andrew Ashbee

Editor of Volume 13 (2019):

Andrew Ashbee, 214, Malling Road, Snodland, Kent ME6 5EQ

aa0060962@blueyonder.co.uk

Full details of the Society's officers and activities, and information about membership, can be obtained from the Administrator. Contributions for *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, which may be about any topic related to early bowed string instruments and their music, are always welcome, though potential authors are asked to contact the editor at an early stage in the preparation of their articles. Finished material should preferably be submitted by e-mail as well as in hard copy.

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Abbreviations used in issues of this Journal:

GMO Grove Music Online, ed. D. Root

<<http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>.

IMCCM The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music, ed. A. Ashbee, R. Thompson

and J. Wainwright, I (Aldershot, 2001); II (Aldershot, 2008). Now online at

<www.vdgs.org.uk/indexmss.html>

MGG2 Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. L. Finscher

<<http://www.mgg-online.com>>

ODNB Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, ed. L. Goldman

<www.oxforddnb.com>.

RISM Repertoire internationale des sources musicales.

www.rism.info

Editorial

We have an interesting and varied selection of articles in this volume, with the prospect of a second part to appear around April-May, devoted to new discoveries concerning Marin Marais.

David Pinto continues his investigation into the influence of the Hatton family, with the proposal that a significant collection of anthems (GB-Och, Mus 56-60) now at Christ Church and believed to have been part of the Fanshawe manuscripts, actually had its origins with the Hattons. He then explores a Gibbons anthem within the same context, particularly bringing his valued expertise in literary matters to the fore.

Polly Sussex has re-worked a talk she gave in Melbourne last year, which examines the history of the lyra viol during the seventeenth century, focussing especially on the various sizes of instrument ideally needed for the music.

Stephan Schönlau, who has recently completed his doctorate at Manchester University, re-examines the extant versions of Polewheel's Ground for both string and keyboard instruments, using an analytical approach to exploring the music.

Andrew Ashbee

A partbook set for consort anthem reassessed

David Pinto

Lady Bracknell: Untruthful! My nephew Algernon? Impossible! He is an Oxonian.

‘Consort anthem’ is a modern term for English verse anthem c.1570-1630, accompanied not by organ but ensemble. Function defines it, heuristically—not form, style or repertoire. Simply, ‘consort’ sources are felt fit for the home, unfit for church. Quirks in transmission certainly show that none is an original *performing* part.¹ It reduces their value as evidence, but just as awkwardly highlights how church sources hand down no ensemble sets, despite contemporary reports that instrumental ensembles did perform in cathedral and Chapel Royal worship at times.² Sides of the equation are starkly mismatched: inadequate extant parts, and a known liturgical rôle beyond exact specification or recall. (*The Book of Common Prayer* prescribed no place for anthem until 1662.) A ‘consort’ subgenre lacks conviction if so ill-equipped to offer any viable concept of *modus operandi* in social function and historical performance practice. New evidence delved further afield seems needed to solve the conundrum, or else adaptation of previously established criteria. One in-between measure is exacter attention to what can be said of motley domestic sources. Here, the provenance of one of the amplest part-sets will be re-evaluated, and on that basis flouted aspects of function addressed, maybe redefined in scope.

Skewed survival of source-types shows another fault-line, visible in Orlando Gibbons most. His only verse anthem to be found in consort partbooks has no church version.³ Its only other copy is in a score copied soon after his death. Oddly, that is the *only* extant source for all his other consort anthems, some unique to it; two, *sui generis*, carry rubrics for events in the Chapel Royal.⁴ Others among them do have parallel church forms with organ parts but, just as oddly, consort forms for these tend be increased in complexity. The presumed church-home divide is also transgressed. Gibbons grafted divisi voices into the revised consort form for the one piece unknown in chapel or cathedral usage—church practice and scoring, never domestic. If *evidence* of practice and function is fluid between categories, what is represented? *Are* instrumentations

¹ Thomas Tomkins *Musica Deo Sacra & Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (London, 1668) has just one verse anthem with a sole aberrant part of domestic sort, mentioned below, included probably in error. The central point is that nothing usable *in performance* by professional singers or players remains; David Pinto ‘Consort anthem, Orlando Gibbons, and musical texts’, *VdGSJ* 9 (2015) pp. 1-25. A surviving listing of an instrumental book or two kept for use by cathedral singers corresponds to nothing now known.

² Andrew Parrott ‘Grett and solompne singing: Instruments in English church music before the Civil War’, *Early Music* 6/2 (April, 1978) pp. 182-187; a version of a previous broadcast on a still underdiscussed topic.

³ ‘See, see, the Word’: significantly, not cited in Chapel Royal or cathedral usage up to 1642, in wordbook form. One post-Restoration wordbook does give a text, but unexplainedly not its latter part. The only other setting of the same text to survive is by George Jeffreys, retainer to Sir Christopher Hatton III.

⁴ ‘Great King of Gods’, ‘O all true faithful hearts’. Their gratulatory texts are found in wordbooks, but altered to extend usage to other occasions when thanks for a monarch’s well-being were regularly rendered.

so sharply opposed, ensemble versus organ? This instance differs from revisions by John Amner and Thomas Tomkins and other comparatively rare examples, in visibly defying a presumed divide in usage for verse-consort anthems.⁵ But whatever impelled Gibbons to refine his pieces entailed a common approach to both areas.⁶ If organ is upheld as normative, another mismatch swims into our ken, easy to overlook. Extant organists' parts show small sign of close correlation by order and method to institutional cathedral choirbooks.⁷ A routine observation that 'liturgical' organ parts are habitually incompatible with 'consort' textures by-passes how organ parts can differ even between each other.⁸ The whole source-arena is more fissured than felt decent to point out, or query. Maybe assumptions over forms of cathedral music, based on norms fixed by the earlier twentieth century, have imposed a hierarchy of categories with gaps. In preamble, a summary of the sources' salient aspects is due, to clarify the basis for any extension of tactics.

Among copying types for consort forms, score is a rare survival.⁹ Sources in general are partbooks, complete or not; mostly Jacobean. Printed or manuscript, they adopt the miscellany approach of William Byrd's five-part publications, 1588-9. For Byrd, that sacred-secular vocal admix was psalm-paraphrase, moral song, and pastoral. In 1588, he converted 'consort song' for solo voice and instruments into part-song, underlaid in all lines. (Even he, joint holder of a printing patent, heeded market dictates in that: vocal presentation remained paramount in published forms.) In 1589, he added instrumentally-

⁵ Amner in person supplied a divergent text of 'O ye little flock' à6 for partbooks at Peterhouse, Cambridge: as edited by Peter le Huray (Oxford University Press; London, 1964), Church Music Society Reprints no. 47. A consort version of Tomkins 'O Lord, let me know mine end' à5 is revised in *Musica Deo Sacra* (1668), with keyboard but also, seemingly, one stray consort part: *Thomas Tomkins Five Consort Anthems* ed. David Pinto and Ross W. Duffin (Fretwork Editions; London and Bermuda, 1994). Pinto (2015) discusses it, and an aberrant version of a verse anthem by Weelkes. Vocal parts of this found only in a consort source are devoid of ensemble parts, and so unsatisfactory as either consort or verse anthem.

⁶ Other works by him with ensemble instruments are secular, à5. 'Do not repine, fair sun' is attested Chapel Royal repertoire, but a welcome ode: for the Scottish Progress of James I & VI in 1617. Two 'Cries of London' embed the In Nomine *cantus firmus*, imbuing the writing with a semi-sacred air. A MS by John Hingeston extant in the 18th century had 'songs' by Gibbons, one entitled 'Made for Prince Charles to be sung with 5 voices to his wind instrument.' Sir John Hawkins *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (T. Payne and Son; London, 1776) Vol. IV p. 44 fn 1—a now tantalisingly unverifiable note.

⁷ A large exception is the comprehensive organ part in Tomkins (1668), a posthumous opus edited by his son Nathaniel; printed in moveable type to accompany similarly-set vocal parts. A further inequivalence tends to be ignored: keyboard's incapability in fully representing counterpoint à5-6, which seems predicated in most verse anthem and realised fully only in consort forms.

⁸ John Amner 'I am for peace' is an example of the first; Richard Farrant 'Whenas we sate in Babylon' à4-5 is an early (pre-1570) and so significant example of the second. It preserves no consort parts, but vocal parts are surprisingly late (1630s). Its status as verse material rather than consort song is also queried, though it does not fit the second category at all well, as represented here.

⁹ **GB-Lbl** RM 24.d.2, John Baldwin's *Commonplace Book*: John Bull 'Almighty God', the 'Star Anthem' (untexted, with a misleading Latin title), with another excerpt. A third score is peripheral insofar as a century late, c.1720, but noteworthy: Edward Gibbons 'How hath the city solitary sat' à5 in Thomas Tudway's 'Collection of Services and Anthems' (1715 onwards) Vol. 4, **GB-Lbl** Harleian MS 7340 f. 194 (also noted as present in **GB-Och** Mus 21, but in error). Its sketchy reproduction of an integral contrapuntal texture suggests that Tudway was unfamiliar with the stylistic norms, or else his source was fragmentary.

accompanied consort anthem to song. Far later he infused a little more into his last-issued collection, of 1611. By then, half a decade after his patent had expired, just three instances of consort anthem by other hands had emerged in print to follow his lead.¹⁰ John Amner's four examples in an issue of 1615, largely of full anthems, are the only other really serious proffer in that direction.¹¹ Fully contrapuntal 'consort' form declined abruptly after Gibbons died in 1625, even if verse repertoire was not superseded before civil war.¹² For verse anthem under Charles I, however, developing fashions adopted basso continuo forces. The Restoration revival of practice had to fall back on some older full anthem, but clearly balked at contrapuntal verse style, howsoever accompanied.

Even the roots of verse anthem are unclear, though it is often assumed that practice and form emerged in Elizabethan London's royal choral establishments. Some infer alignment with protoform 'consort song'. Further probing is in order because the verse-chorus alternatim structure in verse anthem is no match to early consort song, which adds no voices in final choruses; at most refrains are musicoverbal repetition-affirmation (ABB).¹³ Byrd's final sung-chorus sections, whether from MS or printed forms unduplicated in MS, depend in the main on hypothetical reconstruction.¹⁴ Also, little by him *must* be early, though he of course towers over others who added to the genre. The forms therefore seem parallel rather than interdependent, since from observable beginnings consort song had its sententious side, but (apart from Byrd) had few offerings to piety or devotion. That only verse anthem does, otherwise, seemingly elevated to liturgical. Roger Bowers puts forward a hard-line case, that little of what has been thought early verse anthem can fit that category. He reassigns Richard Farrant 'Whenas we sate in Babylon' back to devotional material, late-revived (positing a change of attitude by the 1630s among high-church clergy); also William Mundy 'Ah, helpless

¹⁰ One by Richard Allison (1606) and two by Michael East (1610), these last slight in length and matter.

¹¹ Though Martin Peerson is represented in MS, his *Private Musicke or the First Booke* (1620) had only one sacred consort song with chorus à4, and *Motetts or Graue Chamber Musique* (1630) nothing in either line. So-named consort song in Sir William Leighton's *The Teares or Lamentations* (1614) is aslant 'consort anthem' types.

¹² For example, 'Glorious and powerful God' by Gibbons is cited used at Risley, Derbyshire in 1632 for its major purpose, dedication of a chapel: *English Orders for Consecrating Churches in the Seventeenth Century together with Forms for The Consecration of Churchyards The First Stone of a Church The Reconciliation of a Church and The Consecration of Altar Plate* intr. and ed. J. Wickham Legg (London, 1911) Henry Bradshaw Society Vol. XLI (for 1911) pp. 136-7, 352. Voices accompanied by organ are the only forces named on that occasion.

¹³ *Consort Songs* ed. Philip Brett (Stainer & Bell; London, 1967 2/1974), MB 22, devotes a section (nos. 17-23) to setting of verse from *The Paradyse of daynty deuises* (Henry Disle; London, 1576), compiled by Richard Edwards (d. 1566). He and his colleague William Hunnis are its most-represented versifiers; it may well represent a corpus devised for setting. No guarantee of early date follows; Byrd's setting of Francis Kinwelmarsh's 'From virgins wombe' (1589; unique to print), for example, may well not predate *The Paradyse*. His anthem 'Alack, when I look back' to words by Hunnis is one piece with versions thought possibly to lie across the song divide; but the verse may well not predate 1566, since added to *The Paradyse* only in 1578.

¹⁴ Only one by Byrd in extant MS form (a solitary surviving tenor part) has chorus with underlay.

wretch', to a text by the ever-popular William Hunnis.¹⁵ However neither piece fits well into a class of consort song by limitations suggested above on chorus, **text**, or refrain. (And how had this material been cached until an opportune moment, 4-5 decades on?) It is preferable to think that verse anthem (so-termed) existed, of a sort; but how or even if scored for ensemble in its first stage cannot be plumbed, if any pieces for the era are uncontentious. What inter-reliance consort versions had with organ at a primary stage is ungaugeable on bases of style or genre markers.

More assessable is the plenty flowing by, or soon after, the accession of James I in 1603. Composers' floruits, musical sources, and wordbooks relevant to pre-war practice show how verse anthem overtook full. The two sets preserving the one known circulated consort anthem by Gibbons are luckily among partbooks in fair shape; provenance for one is known, and for the other hypothesised. The first, entitled *Tristitia Remedium*, is more elegant and completer than most, with all six vocal partbooks.¹⁶ Pamela J. Willetts identified other MSS by its clergyman copyist, Thomas Myriell: ground-breaking findings absorbed wholesale into Craig Monson's standard survey of MSS for 'voices and viols'.¹⁷ One is for keyboard, with a note mentioning a now-lost associated keyboard book.¹⁸ It is one of the indeterminate signs that organ *did* play a rôle in domestic practice. That notion is rarely encouraged, understandably when almost no description of it remains; but it reflects on a central problem, the exiguous state of surviving sources. *At a solemn Musick* by John Milton, 'Blest pair of *Sirens*', portrays a sacred vocal music-meeting. He, son of an amateur composer of anthem and fantasia, is never held to specify participating instruments.¹⁹ However a six-part devotional madrigal by John Ward fills the exact gap in its opening lines. 'Well sounding pipes, well tuned stringes, | Ioyn'd with the voyce that sweetly sings | In consorte, make sweete melodye' explicitly yokes voices to organ *and* viols in simultaneity.²⁰ The hard-boiled may shrug this off as poetic licence; but a knee-jerk reflex to its relevance is shallow. For a versifier to picture fanciful or unreal scoring would be absurd, here in especial, since the piece is unique to the other major extant part-set for consort anthem: Christ Church Mus 56-60. Self-referentially, it

¹⁵ Roger Bowers 'Ecclesiastical or Domestic? Criteria for identification of the Initial Destinations of William Byrd's Music to Religious Vernacular Texts'; *William Byrd A Research and Information Guide* ed. Richard Turbet (3/ Routledge; N.Y. and London, 2012) Chapter 2, pp. 124-160 (p. 158 fn 45).

¹⁶ **GB-Lbl** Additional MSS 29372-7.

¹⁷ Sir Frederick Bridge mentioned his name and status of London City clergyman: *Twelve Good Musicians from John Bull to Henry Purcell* (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd; London, 1920) p.38.

¹⁸ Craig Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650 The Sources and the Music* (UMI Press; Ann Arbor, 1982) p. 35.

¹⁹ Lines 3-4, 'Wed your divine sounds, and mixt power employ | Dead things with inbreath'd sense able to pierce,' could be felt to apply to musical instruments endowed with fleeting 'soul' by sung texts.

²⁰ *John Ward Madrigals and Elegies from Manuscript Sources* ed. Ian Payne (Stainer & Bell; London, 1988) nos. 4-5; EM38. Its verse equates the three musical forces to words, deeds, and mind harmonised 'in vertues consorte'; an absence of dissonant accidentals avoids 'vicious iars', using 'measure' to achieve virtue. A kindred set of similes is in Ward's consort anthem in two sections, 'Down caitiff wretch / Prayer is an endless chain' à5.

describes performance of the source's sacred content, full or verse. Whether or not Ward's patron (who kept a chamber organ in his London house) owned the set, as currently held, certainly Ward wrote it for him. If hopes of lost organ books emerging are slim, it is the more imperative to take in tangential factors, like common coverage of allied genres in consort MSS and vocal publications. One is lament, for both patrons and musicians.²¹ Devotional song, as in Ward's piece, embraces the 'laus musicæ' *topos*; the theme of 'Musicke divine' by Thomas Tomkins, also six-part. Significantly, Thomas Ford's setting of that same text, on the same scale, is unique to Mus 56-60.²²

Mus 56-60 is the only extant set to outdo *Tristitia Remedium* within its era, c.1610-22, in coverage of consort anthem. (They overlap, but both have a quota of unique full anthem.) Five partbooks remain; a Bassus is lost. Vicissitudes of time have not encouraged survival of sets of its sort; unsurprisingly, for the resources needed: voices doubled with instruments à5-6.²³ Users were clearly well-to-do citizens and higher degrees of gentry or nobility; Amner dedicated his devotional set to an earl. On a different level, vicars choral had the means and will to assemble repertoire, as the activities of John Merro in the West Country show. Not all survivals have their origins or function fathomed. Dr Monson's succinct survey of Mus 56-60 suggests that much in it concerns court holidays, an observation maybe based on an article purporting to site the set's owner at court. The present writer has urged a differing ownership, possibly in too cursory a way for its cogency to be evident. It is amplified here, without speculation on its array of copyists (to be explored elsewhere).²⁴ This set embodies the challenge of addressing the contexts of consort anthem, and the benefits to accrue. One part of that is in handling its usual but unsatisfactory pairing with another source, literally neighbouring.

Miss Willetts noted Myriell's hand in Christ Church Mus 61-66, with 67 (keyboard).²⁵ A later article proposed a courtier from a family of Derbyshire origin as owner of both that set and its neighbour, Mus 56-60.²⁶ This shot in

²¹ As a tail-piece to works otherwise sacred, Amner printed a lament à6 on his noble dedicatee's estate manager, referring to his musicianship.

²² Thomas Tomkins *Madrigals* (1622), no. 24; Thomas Ford 'Musicque devine' à6, **GB-Och** Mus 56-60 source no. 67. **US-NYpl** Drexel MSS 4160-5 is the only source for consort anthem to recopy published Tomkins: the copyist (John Merro) tackled its whole six-part section, as well as Amner's published consort anthems.

²³ Charles Burney's mention of five books for this set shows relatively early loss or misshelving.

²⁴ David Pinto, 'The music of the Hattons', *RMARC* 23 (1990), pp. 79-108.

²⁵ Pamela J. Willetts 'Musical Connections of Thomas Myriell' and 'The Identity of Thomas Myriell', *Music & Letters (M&L)* 49/1 (January 1968) pp. 36-42 and 53/4 (October 1972) pp. 431-433. Her findings for Mus 61-66/67, adopted by Monson (1982), are uncited in *Christ Church Library music catalogue* for this set.

²⁶ John Aplin 'Sir Henry Fanshawe and Two Sets of Early Seventeenth-Century Part-Books at Christ Church, Oxford', *M&L* 57/1 (January 1976) pp. 11-24; cited in *Christ Church Library music catalogue*. John Bergsagel judiciously added 'probably' to this identification of owner for Mus 61-67, noting its failure to mention 'fundamental work' by Miss Willetts; 'Danish Musicians in England 1611-14: Newly-Discovered Instrumental Music', *Dansk Årbog for Musikforskning* 7 (1973-6) pp. 9-18, fn 19. Monson (1982) p. 65 also queried the links, but jumped the wrong way by willingness to credit instead that Fanshawe owned Mus 56-60.

the dark ignored her findings, previously issued in the same journal. While not wholly arbitrary, when tested it falls far short. Refuting it needs forensic dissection, since to accept lack of proof or logical inference in something uncritically relied on, and widely cited, must be retrograde. Whatever comfort may seem held out at first by an oversimplistic grouping of sources, failure to recognise divergences only compounds a problem. It blunts discrimination over their function: the area least responsive to assessment, yet most in need of thought.²⁷

As a way to link the sets, the theory begins in similarities. Mus 56-60 resemble 61-67 in format and parchment binding c.1620-30. Both traits are casual—‘alike’ is not ‘identical’—and peripheral to *origin*. Long-standing adjacency on a library shelf proves as little, including parallel evolution; but the claim implies that they complement each other repertorially. If so, it is unconvincing in methodology, since dissonant with the fact that their repertoires are part-concordant: *almost* non-comparable yet, irritatingly, not quite.²⁸ Mus 61-67 have genre-diverse sections à3 and à5-6, vocal and pure instrumental, an accretion of a decade or more.²⁹ Overlap with Mus 56-60 is in two and only two fascicles. In *that* assemblage, associates used a fairly cohesive style-set, probably continually, on anthem à5-6, full or verse (consort). Genre limit is strained by a small secular component, a quarter of it in the form of lament; but no outright instrumental works appear at all. A catalogue gives full contents-listings for both.³⁰

Two items are held to prove joint ownership of the sets. One is shared: a lament by John Ward on Henry, Prince of Wales, elder son of James I and VI (d. 6th November 1612). Ward kept it out of his *Madrigals* (1613), but not because the death was too recent: he chose to substitute another on the same scale, ‘Weepe forth your teares’ à6. Nor was its wording overpersonal: Myriell

²⁷ Cf Peter Webster *The relationship between religious thought and the theory and practice of church music in England, 1603-c.1640*, PhD thesis, University of Sheffield (2001) Part 2 Chapter 8. ‘Christ Church, Oxford Mus MSS 56-60 (Fanshawe) This set of partbooks in the library of Christ Church have [*sic*] been demonstrated by John Aplin to be one of two sets (the other being Och 61-66 and 67) prepared during the reign of James for the private recreation of Sir Henry Fanshawe, Remembrancer of the Exchequer and possibly a close acquaintance of Prince Henry. They contain a wide range of material, including anthems in verse and full forms, as well as madrigals, solo songs and various elegies on the death of Henry. Och 61-66 also contain instrumental music, secular music by Italian composers, and Italian texted material by English figures. Neither set contains any liturgical music.’ As well as reliant on a lone ‘authority’, this takes for granted (no doubt based on mixed sacred and secular content) that both sources are intrinsically recreational and somehow informal.

²⁸ ‘Quite similar in appearance, these two collections . . . constitute an anthology’ is Aplin’s first remark on associations between the two sets, (1976) p. 13. Format is too varied to escape comment, if single origin is the preferred theory. *Christ Church Library music catalogue* gives dimensions for Mus 56-60 as 333mm x 220mm; Mus 61-66 clock in a bit smaller, on a range 295-303mm x 195-203mm (partbook 65 unlisted); Mus 67 is similar at 297 x 203 mm (upright).

²⁹ Mus 67 (keyboard) f. 7v has the only four-part piece, for Alfonso Ferrabosco II Fantasia no. 1; an incomplete single-stave bass-clef part with indications, but barely any, of short-score reduction.

³⁰ *Christ Church Library music catalogue* ed. John Milsom (designer and programmer Matthew Phillips): available through <http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/>. See also Monson (1982), and a less detailed listing in Aplin (1976).

was able to acquire it (the sole other known copy).³¹ The second, also a lament, also by Ward, is on his employer, dedicatee of his *Madrigals*: Sir Henry Fanshawe of Warwick Lane, London, and Ware Park, Hertfordshire. It is non-concordant, unique to Mus 56-60.³² Sir Henry (a daughter-in-law's memoir reports) was favoured by the prince; but his whole court was cashiered after his death, halting this promising statesman's rise. Associations to Sir Henry are felt varied and firm enough to combine the pieces in proof that he owned both sets. Without *a priori* documentation, though, primary evidence of ownership, it is a contingent proof.

Adding Myriell's hand in Mus 61-67 to the case seems to confirm linkage; but to whom? (*Tristitia Remedium* is implicated, but some repertoire shared between three sets proves very little.) His intimacy with the owner of Mus 61-67 was in a type of involvement the less calculable because of another feature. That set holds at least seven assorted component layers, with paste-ins. The striation complicates links of any one part to another, whether or not pieced together by a Fanshawe (and whether or not casually, or late). No integrity of association can be assumed before binding; but that final assemblage of Mus 61-66 postdates Sir Henry's death (10th March 1616) by at least two years, and maybe over six. The first layer recopies Orlando Gibbons *Fantazies of III. Parts*, not printed before 1618 at soonest, the year that its dedicatee was granted a court post mentioned on its title-page. Context in fact suggests a date 1622.³³ Content in the six-part fantasia group also arouses suspicion. One fantasia by Simon Ives (b. 1600) has no real excuse to be attending an adult party in 1616 or before.³⁴ Five by Charles Colman are nearly as unlikely to have circulated by then; he lived on until 1664.

By coincidence or no, *Tristitia Remedium* has engraved title-pages dated 1616. It does imply an advanced or culminating stage of repertoire built up during Sir Henry's life, but is not held a proven completion-date. Also, only on 19th September 1616 did Myriell become rector of Saint Stephen's Walbrook, London; in 1610 he had been a preacher at Barnet, north of London. Those stamping-grounds are just too remote by place or date to show association with Sir Henry: they allow speculation, of course. Myriell's copying shows dependency on composers with posts at Saint Paul's Cathedral; Walbrook, the area in which he became a person of mark, lies a little to its east. He could well have met Ward, who at some point will have frequented Fanshawe's town house in Warwick Lane (now EC4), just north-west of Old Paul's. (Music by cathedral singers figures less in Mus 56-60, in which Myriell had no part.) But if

³¹ 'No obiect dearer' à6: Mus 61-66 ff. 72, 35, 51, 71, 6; Mus 67 no. 40 (final item); Mus 56-60 ff. 126, 108, 4, 114, 124, entitled 'Passions on the death of Prince/prince Henry'; *Tristitia Remedium* f. 173v, part of a sequence linked to that in 61-66/67, and not 56-60.

³² 'If heavn's iust wrathe' à6: Mus 56-60 ff. 153c, 138, 34, 144, 154, 'Passions on the death of Sr Hen: ffanshawe.'

³³ The unsubstantiable date for long attached to publication, c.1620, can be redetermined from its dedicatee's grand marriage, planned in 1621, and disgrace in 1622: David Pinto 'Gibbons in the Bedchamber', *John Jenkins and His Time Studies in English Consort Music* ed. Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman (Oxford, 1996) pp. 89-109.

³⁴ Monson (p. 55) and *Christ Church Library music catalogue* list this, Ives Fantasia no.2 à6, as an In Nomine.

he was a Fanshawe or Ward intimate either before or soon after 1616, why did he not make copies of a lament on Sir Henry, and post them in the obvious place, his own (main) set? Repertoire, hands, and manner of compilation of Mus 61-67 fall short of a conclusive case for him as a necessary ingredient to bind this particular source-mix to a Fanshawe owner (or owners).

Sir Henry had first call on Ward to 1616, granted. Leaps in reasoning from that seeming linchpin do not secure conclusions; momentary pause could have halted the ensuing Gadarene rush. Several concerns demand steadier scrutiny. Firstly: overlap between the sets is on a scale too small for any conceivable shared aim. Why would one *ménage* need a piece by Ward copied twice? Not just one piece, either. Unnoted by the theory, Mus 56-60 and 61-67 have one more in common, but only one, also by Ward: a consort anthem 'Let God arise' à5. Mus 61-6 has it *twice*, creating a *triplicate*.³⁵ Lack of complementarity is embarrassingly plain: duplicating one item 'may be regarded as a misfortune', as Lady Bracknell put it, but with two, the second even more haphazard, it 'looks like carelessness'. Secondly, to be purposive, duplication across sets must be pervasive or systematic and preferably functional. No sign to meet any such premise is visible. If commonality so casual has a cause otherwise unknown but incompatible with notions of complementarity, a claim of 'plan' is a last resort, not a first. The one ground of other type to explain double presence for Ward's lament on Prince Henry is thin. To quote: 'The parts . . . in the older set, Mus. 61-66(7), show signs of wear, and seem to have been well used. They are probably the originals from which new copies were made into Mus. 56-60, perhaps because of the deterioration in their condition, or simply owing to their popularity in the household.'³⁶ This is tendentious, if 'older' parts are *not* illegible or unusable; and to claim 'popularity' in a lament is quirky, except maybe at commemorative anniversaries.³⁷ With no use demonstrable for a duplicate *and* triplicate (in two keys, and thus no case of either replacing or complementing parts), piece- and genre-concordance so sporadic undermine both combining and complementing functions. The pieces *are* by a Fanshawe retainer: but overlap so trivial discounts a common owner. It can have only a reverse cause to that posited. It exactly inverts the modality proposed into unpurposeful *randomness* or, at best, linkage at a distance, of a sort so far uncategorised.

Another factor as specific bedevils close linkage: contributory copying. If two MS sets with one owner were contemporaneous, how did they come to share not a single contributor hand—Myriell included? If content is thought parallel for ownership purposes (though fairly dissimilar, as pointed out here), what allied copying operations show that, rather than unallied copying at unlinked sites? Sir Henry's domiciles were connected by easy movement on settled roads from Ware to the cultural hub, the City, 21 miles as the crow flies. Accounts portray a solicitous owner overseeing a country paradise, constantly sending garden produce to London society from his famed, much-visited estate. After the prince's death, his continual closeness to court remained essential for exercising his retained office of King's Remembrancer. Current views of John

³⁵ In Mus 61-67 it comes adjacent in the same layer at different pitch-levels, *c* and *g*; in Mus 56-60 once, at higher level *c* only. This is the work by Ward with most cathedral currency and, by that much, less apt for proving immediate provenance. *Systematic* duplicates might reveal joint part-sets for performing, but not on this meagre chance level, especially when incorporating non-comparable and non-combinable texts.

³⁶ Aplin (1976) p. 16.

³⁷ The short time-span before Sir Henry died allows for only three *annual* memorials, 1613-15.

Ward's career place him at both sites. A last-gasp notion could be to suggest external commission of Mus 56-60 by a Fanshawe family member; but the set lacks the signs of uniform hand, methodical style and short copying-span to imply that. It appears to be a typical domestic enterprise, albeit decently organised, created over perhaps 8-10 years by five copyists; a suspected 'John Ward' hand in Mus 61-67 not among them.

Sir Henry's joint ownership has any claim to credence severed at its fused hip by the lament on him. The Jacobean era was self-aware in preparation for death; mortification. The 'memento mori' was still a common icon; John Donne posed to be sculpted in his shroud, an extreme metaphysical affectation. 'Autobiographical' epitaphs to mould posthumous opinion were pre-drafted, clearly. A high social significance inherent in these memorials did not lessen through the century; John Aubrey's *Brief Lives* afford a stream of examples.³⁸ But Sir Henry died by apoplexy, unexpectedly and prematurely. He set out a will dated 13th November 1613 (proved 23rd April 1616), far enough in advance to witness not ill-health or foreboding but forethought; as do its meticulous dispositions. Can it be implied that he pre-commissioned a commemorative lament? The unparalleled conceit of having one's own polyphonic dirge set in adulatory tones is beyond credible bounds of decorum, unless substantive proof is shown. To keep to realms of fact, how can he have handled the pages in Mus 56-60 holding this piece? Methodical copying continued after it was entered; the pages following refute his participation in the set as ongoing musical enterprise by that time, from beyond the grave.³⁹ And if not from that time on, what tangible sign of his supervision appears beforehand?

Beliefs that Sir Henry owned Mus 56-60 or oversaw any part of the set reach vanishing-point with a claim that he 'intended' music-making to continue in his family after him.⁴⁰ To assert that he would or must have done so is lightweight; close to immaterial. Courses of action enjoined on kin must be explicit before demise, if expectations are to be ascertained. Even granting some desire for continuity, this last bastion is a fatal hostage to fortune. The path of actual events is the theory's final death-throe. Sir Henry kept within his means, but could be thought to be over-lavish for a dead prince's former adviser.⁴¹ His death brought continuity to an end. Guardians appointed for his heir, a minor, set about retrenchment immediately. Their general conduct patently by-passed an express wish that Sir Henry *had* stated, to retain classes of valuable curios in perpetuity. His youngest surviving son Richard recalled how his father's 'noble collection of medals . . . were [*sic*] after his decease thrown about the house for

³⁸ He also devised an epitaph for himself shortly before his death: *Interpretation of Villare Anglicanum*, GB-Ob Aubrey MS 5 f. 122.

³⁹ The lament is no. 27 out of 33 items à6, listing second parts of compositions separately (no. 74 if they are enumerated 48-80 overall, to follow those à5). Order is uniform in all books, copying sequential. One fails to envisage any servant, supervising the remainder too, copying it out in Sir Henry's lifetime. Five- and six-part sequences were no doubt copied independently of each other, as material acceded.

⁴⁰ Among all other very explicit stipulations, his will had none overt for music books. There is no deduction, just an unsupported presumption and to that extent wishful thinking, in 'We may deduce from his will that Sir Henry intended there to be no cessation of musical activities': Aplin (1976) p. 16.

⁴¹ 'His retinue was great, and that made him stretch his estate, which was near, if not full four thousand pound a year', his daughter-in-law commented, pointedly adding how he had 'left in the care of . . . his widow' ten children. None was yet adult. Two others (both boys, out of seven in all) had predeceased him,

children to play at counter with.⁴² So much for the outcome of an express injunction to keep safe a collection, its extent attested by a will of 1613 and specified in content, medals part of it.⁴³ This failure in trust leaves small chance of music books with no market value being valued, even assuming trustees willing to make allowances for wishes not formulated by Sir Henry. Music was just one frill to be trimmed.⁴⁴ Nor is it simply music against bullion. Sir Henry's range as a collector of virtù is clear, but few items can now be identified. It leads to a deeply murky tale. Charles I succeeded to the throne in March 1625; his mentor in art then suggested he appropriate the collection of fine art from Sir Henry's hapless widow. John Chamberlain's newsletter of 28th May painted the *contretemps* in ironic, barely guarded terms.

The Lord Arundel hath played a friendly part with the Lady Fanshawe and caused the king to send for all her pictures great and small: which may serve for a caveat that if you bring home any you esteem he may be the last that should see them, lest he reap a thanks *a vostre depens*.⁴⁵

A Portrait of a Woman by Palma Vecchio was among the loot, and a group by Hans Holbein the Younger, it seems. A pioneer collector, Sir Henry had been advised by Sir Henry Wotton in Venice (who may well have sent him pieces like Vecchio's), and was familiar enough with the Earl of Arundel for him to egg on a king whose collecting zeal was still new.⁴⁶ Chamberlain expressed the terms of the forced gift in 'very cynical tones', it is acknowledged: 'Arundel may have been the agent, but Charles must have applied the leverage to take a collection that had been willed as heirloom by Sir Henry to his kin'.⁴⁷ The episode discredits a variant claim that Sir Henry gave two miniatures by

⁴² *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn*, F.R.S. ed. William Bray (Henry Colburn & Co.; London, 1850-2) III (1852) p. 300; this in a letter to Samuel Pepys, 12th August 1689, listing collections dismembered through neglect. Richard Fanshawe had been rising eight years old when his father died, old enough for accurate memories, and all the more so for the clarity and astuteness of youth.

⁴³ Amongst goods then owned, he mentioned pictures in oil, prints, drawings, medals, engraved stones, armour, books, and musical instruments (most unspecified), most to be taken from his London house to Ware Park (purchased forty years before his death), and there remain as heirlooms while his line lasted, apart from his chamber organ. *Notes, Genealogical and Historical, of the Fanshawe Family* (J.E. Taylor and Co., 10, Little Queen Street, Holborn; 1868) No. 1 Pedigree and Funeral Certificates. [Reprinted from *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica* 1st series, vols. 1-2 (London, 1868, 1876)]; H[erbert] C. Fanshawe *The History of the Fanshawe Family* [ed. Beaujolois Mabel Ridout] (Andrew Reid and Company, Limited; Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, 1927).

⁴⁴ The eldest son Thomas (1596-1665; created 1st Viscount Fanshawe of Dromore in the Irish peerage late in life), was undergoing education in Paris by 1618. He did not return to take up his office of Remembrancer of the Exchequer, held in trust for him during minority, until 1619.

⁴⁵ *Letters of John Chamberlain* ed. Norman Egbert McClure (Philadelphia, 1939) ii p. 621; dated.

⁴⁶ Timothy Wilks 'Art Collecting at the English Court from the Death of Henry, Prince of Wales to the Death of Anne of Denmark (November 1612—March 1619)', *Journal of the History of Collections* 9/1 (1997) pp. 31-48; esp. pp. 35-6. Without citeable evidence, some *quid pro quo* is suspected for the forced gift, such as her son's creation KB at Charles' coronation; but that practice was common procedure among eligible young members of the gentry with money to spare. Chamberlain noted Wotton amongst visitors to Ware Park but seems (as with Arundel) to have had limited esteem for him.

⁴⁷ Felicity Heal *The Power of Gifts Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (OUP; Oxford, 2014) p. 140. Robert Hill 'Art and Patronage: Wotton and the Venetian Embassy', *Double Agents Cultural and Political Brokerage in Early Modern Europe* ed. Marika Keblusek and Badeloch Vera Noldus (Brill; Leiden, 2011) discusses Wotton's personal part in bringing Venetian art to Fanshawe, and men of his grade (p. 42).

Holbein to Charles, just before his investiture as Prince of Wales.⁴⁸ This, based on the later catalogues for Charles of his collection (by Abraham van der Doort), shows some confusion. A possible basis, that they were gifts to Prince Henry when *he* was invested as Prince in 1610, seems as unlikely.⁴⁹ Uncertainty here shows the difficulties in drawing any line of provenance for almost any other present-day object (or set of them) that may have been Sir Henry's: his collection's lack of profile anywhere then becomes noteworthy simply as dispersal with scant trace. Some musical sets of more imposing appearance could have been left to gather dust on or otherwise ornament the shelf, one likelihood explorable; but all other adducible evidence suggests the end of an era. Ian Payne's findings, that John Ward's career as household musician came to a sudden close, bear out that outcome.⁵⁰ While his elderly father kept domestic status, he found work as an attorney in the Exchequer (technically improperly, but explicable since the Fanshaws held reversion of office there).⁵¹ As for Fanshawe patronage of music and putative continuation into the 1630s or beyond: no-one has revealed a single trace. No child of Sir Henry has been shown to have exhibited any sign whatsoever of indulging in inherited musical hobbies; not a murmur even for Sir Richard, the most distinguished in the arts for translations from Italian and Spanish.⁵² Comments taking musical continuity for granted need validation: not a shred has yet been offered.⁵³

The docile Oxonian willingness routinely to believe six impossible things before breakfast may by now be quelled. It is easily conceded that some layers of Mus 61-67 do hold Fanshawe repertoire; chiming with the picture of Sir Henry as, in his daughter-in-law's words, 'a great lover of music' who 'kept many gentlemen that were perfectly well qualified both in that, and in the Italian tongue, in which [*sic*] he spent some time.' John Ward's hand may well be present; it holds a part for a madrigal in Italian by him. He wrote other untexted 'madrigal-fantasias' with incipit-titles relating to texts (sometimes

⁴⁸ Hans Holbein the Younger: Henry Brandon 2nd Duke of Suffolk (1535–1551) and his younger brother Charles Brandon 3rd Duke of Suffolk (1537–8–1551); c.1541: Royal Collection: RCIN 422294-422295. In part brought up with the prince (later Edward VI), the two died of the sweating sickness within half an hour of each other. *The Northern Renaissance Dürer to Holbein* ed. Kate Heard and Lucy Whitaker (Royal Collection; London, 2011); catalogue of an exhibition at Holyrood House, Edinburgh, Friday 17th June 2011–Sunday 15th January 2012.

⁴⁹ Sir Henry did not live to see the ceremony on 10th November 1616. Even granted that the investiture of Charles may have been long in the planning, this does not make any presumed gift more credible.

⁵⁰ Ian Payne 'John Ward (c.1589-1638) The Case for One Composer of the Madrigals, Sacred Music and Five- and Six-Part Consorts', *Cheps* 23 (1994) 1-16; *id.* 'John Ward' ODNB.

⁵¹ Dr Payne's published opinions go as far as to see close acquaintance between Ward and Myriell blossoming after 1616, during Ward's employment at the Fanshawe legal office (housed in their leased property of Warwick Lane). Without pressing his views into alien service, implications in that may be significant, especially for dating what could yet be Fanshawe copying activities in 61-67 (but not 56-60, where other affiliations were never considered). It could be (*contra* Dr Payne) that Ward's four-part 'Paris' fantasia-sequence is late, in the 1620s, rather than early; and that his smaller group of four-part fantasias (the 'Oxford' set, as Dr Payne dubs it) falls satisfactorily in a period c.1613-19. See my review in *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal* 1 (2007) pp. 68-72 of his edition *John Ward Consort Music of Four Parts* transcr. and ed. Ian Payne (Stainer & Bell for the Musica Britannica Trust; London, 2005), MB 83.

⁵² Sir Henry's grandson Thomas Fanshawe (1632–1674), 2nd Viscount Fanshawe of Dromore, sold Ware Park in 1668; the last date for dispersal of books. Family fortunes were wholly dissipated by then.

⁵³ Monson (1982) p. 41 assumed music-making by Fanshaws in the 1620s as the best explanation for the purchase in 1784 of a MS set by Myriell in Ware: intriguing, but not in itself relevant to that third decade.

refittable).⁵⁴ Mus 61-66 even have, unspotted, one englished Italian madrigal.⁵⁵ It does not affect the alternative, indeed only feasible provenance for Mus 56-60 that, ironically, can also explain survival of Fanshawe music when duplications, disarray, and lack of *prima facie* evidence wreck any case for Sir Henry's joint ownership. The solution is Sir Henry's brother-in-law, who survived him by three years: Sir Christopher Hatton II. The Hatton musical library is preserved in apparent near-entirety at Christ Church, Oxford: proof of that, drawn together and proposed by this writer, stays unchallenged; even massively endorsed.⁵⁶ That proposal also precisely envisaged a chance that music assignable to the Fanshawes could reappear exactly where it now is, by this obvious *détour*. Nothing can be more natural than amalgamation of musical items by descent through kinship bonds. A flawed theory can be divided into components. Linked households offer a superior explanation of minor duplications between sets both so far unthinkingly deemed joint: part-similar sets held by close kin with shared repertoire. Sir Christopher's wife Alice Fanshawe was Sir Henry's younger half-sister. A wife (and mother) with her side of the family socially integrated to her husband's is an obvious link.⁵⁷ Sir Christopher was the man best-placed to have a lament for Sir Henry copied into Mus 56-60 in 1616, and played. His son of the same name, Christopher (1605-1670), followed his example by a life-long interest in music: a family continuance needed to explain some repertoire (such as Gibbons *Fantazies* in Mus 61-67) clearly postdating Sir Christopher's death in 1619 as well. But while alive he possibly had dealings with John Ward, since from 1616 he took over the office of King's Remembrancer as trustee, until such time as Thomas Fanshawe was of capacity to succeed. He was best-sited to ensure Ward's employment in the Exchequer after Sir Henry's death, and sooner rather than later.⁵⁸ No one more than a brother-in-law to Sir Henry was better-placed to be second in line for copies of Ward's unprinted vocal output. Could that access have continued after 1616? Among Hatton sources is the renowned 'Great Set', largely a retrospective of recopied material, instituted at some time after the later 1640s, and never fully completed.⁵⁹ Its books as a whole retail the Ward instrumental *œuvre* with only three exceptions; all a little atypical, though one is sizeable (in fact a unique opus, and so non-comparable).⁶⁰ A Hatton

⁵⁴ Mus 67 only, f. 29v: another fragment, with title-incipit 'Cor mio' (Ward Fantasia no. 12; formerly excluded from the Viola da Gamba Society's *Thematic Index* but now reinstated).

⁵⁵ 'My heart with greife doth languish' à5 (underlaid throughout), Mus 61-66 item 31: Benedetto Pallavicino *Libro VI* à5 (1600) no. [16], setting G.B. Guarini 'Cor mio, deh! non languire'. Mus 67 item no. 22 is a part for this, with an Italian incipit; a sign of incoherence. Immediately before is Ward's setting of the same text, as mentioned. David Pinto 'The Madrigal-Fantasia: Italian Influences in Early Seventeenth-Century England', *A Viola da Gamba Miscellanea* ed. Susan Orlando (Presses Universitaires de Limoges; Limoges, 2005) pp. 95-129.

⁵⁶ Pinto 'The music of the Hattons' (1990).

⁵⁷ Alice Fanshawe attended the wedding of her niece Mary (Fanshawe's second daughter) with her eldest daughter Bess Hatton on 9th April 1616, according to Chamberlain, writing on the 20th of the month.

⁵⁸ Ward owned property at the end of his life in Ilford Magna (or Greater Ilford), just north of Barking, within the parish of Barking, once the largest in Essex. It also was among sites where Hatton was registered for property in 1609-10: N. M. Fuidge under Hatton, in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1558-1603* ed. P.W. Hasler (HMSO; London, 1981).

⁵⁹ David Pinto 'Placing Hatton's Great Set', *Cheyls* 32 (2004) pp. 1-20.

⁶⁰ The larger exception is the 'Paris' fantasia set à4, so-called from the location of the unique score. The small exceptions are Fantasia VdGS no. 13 à5, entitled 'Leggiadra sei', and the sole In Nomine à5. The first stands out as unique in its series for key (a two-flat signature). The second has a variant attribution to Simon Ives and on grounds of style is unacceptable as Ward's; it adopts a form of the cantus firmus not followed by Ward in six parts. Ward also is characteristic of five-part writing in his generation: siding with John Coprario and Thomas

connexion is actually the *only* direct explanation for Fanshawe music to be at Christ Church.⁶¹ It could explain why the part of Mus 61-66 in less than perfect shape was kept. A large-scale lament (à5-7) by Thomas Tomkins on the death of Prince Henry is present, but in only minimal condition: one treble part alone.⁶² Loss on this scale (just short of total), and in a piece that Sir Henry is the likeliest of all players to have acquired, implies that after his time dismembered items were pieced together out of concern for preservation, right down to unusable portions; even a four-part instrumental fragment. Otherwise, reasons for posting some content incomplete must be as unclear as what original content may have been.

Failure to follow these strands, central to the evidence, has come at a cost. Previously-noted, but likewise overlooked, is yet another thing to link Mus 56-60 to Hattons of the 1630s, a decade without sign of Fanshawe activity. It is an *a priori* case for association, in the evidence of the main hand in Mus 56-60: the only one to merit that term (supervising four others, two of them infrequent). It recurs in a later set of vocal partbooks, also at Christ Church, Mus 736-738. This set has a content of three-part songs, largely devotional, mostly by Thomas Ford (also John Jenkins and a single item by Simon Ives, with one anonymum). It was not finished before 1634 since it preserves an elegy on the death that year of William Austin, of Lincoln's Inn.⁶³ Within the vocal bass part are indications for continuo, though no separate part survives: that, with other features of style, sets it apart as later than consort anthem (and madrigalian) repertoire in 56-60 and 61-67. Mus 736-738 have their own copyist, the only one, apart from incidental and late additions by the main hand from Mus 56-60. These then were by a family servant active for some time before the death of Sir Christopher II, yet still able to contribute copying fifteen years or so after 1619. Sir Christopher III, later Baron Hatton, became well enough known as a patron to have Michael East dedicate to him *The Seventh Set of Bookes* (1638), a wholly instrumental set à2-4. The cumulative and overwhelming evidence for the presence of a Hatton musical library within the collection at Christ Church thus can account for Mus 56-60 and 736-738 within the Hatton orbit.

The cumulative catalogue of music at Christ Church has downplayed this finding for Mus 56-60, by choosing to alter a clearly stated term, 'main hand', into 'one of the contributing hands', and adding that its statement came 'without details that would support this theory'. That point is made in discussing Mus 736-8, but omitted for Mus 56-60: indeed, its approach to that set is to leave identity of hands within it unresolved. The reasons are 'an undetermined number of copyists, none ... yet ... identified' and 'collaborative copying, hands sometimes changing during ... a single piece, or separately supplying the music and the verbal text-underlay of a piece.' The matter is then remitted to the analysis made by Monson; but he had answered the question in

Lupo (or the Lupos) for writing only innovative free fantasia (including 'madrigal fantasia'), and not the In Nomine (which allies Orlando Gibbons, interestingly, to Alfonso Ferrabosco Junior).

⁶¹ The one copy at Christ Church of John Ward *First Set of English Madrigals*, Mus. 135-40 in original vellum bindings, is a Hatton possession: Pinto (1990). That of course does not discount some form of Fanshawe origin; though maybe through initial presentation to Sir Christopher II, rather than posthumous acquisition.

⁶² 'Know you not': Mus 61 ff. 74v-75r. One of the two others now similarly incomplete is also by Tomkins: 'It is my welbeloveds voice' à5, here only in Mus 62 f. 21v.

⁶³ Pinto (1990). Interestingly, it does maintain the commitment to the funerary of earlier 'consort' sources.

admirably concise manner. The substance to his view on Mus 56-60 and its main copyist is clear and leaves limited room for debate:

One hand ... definitely predominates in the manuscripts, entering well over twice as many parts as the nearest competitor. Of all the scribes, he alone is responsible for large blocks of pieces, often devoted primarily to a single composer or type of piece, which give the impression of having been entered as a group. It seems reasonable to assume that he was in fact the owner or keeper of the manuscripts and would have had them readily to hand for the copying of such blocks. The next most common hand bears a remarkable similarity to the first (see pl. 12), and might be the first copyist in a different "scribal guise". This "scribe" may occasionally be responsible for all the parts in two consecutive pieces, but he never enters larger groups. The other hands are much less prominent, and with few exceptions only add the odd part here and there.⁶⁴

This amplifies Aplin's similar finding. (Myriell was another to have more than one 'guise', with both quadrate and rounded note-heads.⁶⁵) A choice not to investigate on this basis by ignoring the issue bars the path to understanding for all these MS sets. Of course, it is still eminently possible to deny that the main hand of Mus 56-60 *is* present in the other set, so much later, and transmuted: all such statements are open to challenge or rebuttal. A comment that can now be posted, if accepted that there *is* a 'main hand' in Mus 56-60, is to define it by what it did *not* do. (Since one book is now lost, a necessary qualification is to say that the Bassus *probably* would have followed suit and borne out the pattern detected.) It copied not a single piece by John Ward, except one. In that exception, the very piece that Sir Henry could not have supervised, the lament on his death, it was egregiously responsible for entering *all* five extant parts. This strikingly contrary combination of inaction and action is uninterpretable for a copyist working consistently under Sir Henry's aegis, or at some stage maybe even for Ward himself. It detracts yet again from any chance of Fanshawe ownership.

The case for Hatton has other ramifications and strengths, but less germane to consort partbooks, and needing only brief mention. He was one of a circle in a position and likely to have collected musical laments on Prince Henry. He entertained King James I & VI and his consort Queen Anne in Northamptonshire during their summer progresses. Evidence that he was well-acquainted with the prince too is circumstantial but highly likely, given a consort song in three sections on the death of a young man of high birth called 'my dearest friend', set by Orlando Gibbons and published in his *Madrigals* (1612), dedicated to Hatton. (The dedication, in stating '*the language they speake you provided them*', acknowledged that texts for setting were in general his choice and even maybe wording, in some cases.) But there is another topic needing to be broached, before copying and collaborative practice can be awarded detailed breakdown: the missing link to function.

⁶⁴ Monson (1982) p. 62, punctuation slightly emended. The possibility raised by him that his hands 1-2 are by-forms of the same can be fully accepted: Plates 11-12 (pp. 63-4), with full discussion of the source pp. 59-67 and p. 302 (notes 48-84); source-listing is at pp. 68-9.

⁶⁵ Monson (1982) p. 20, illustrated in plates 5a-b, pp. 22-3. A third guise mentioned is even more imitative of print: p. 15 and plate 3, p.16.

One of Sir Christopher's other relevant claims to attention is a chapel built for him and consecrated in 1616 at his main out-of-town home until 1619, the manor of Clayhall in Ilford, Essex (a property leased in succession to his Fanshawe in-laws).⁶⁶ He was there by 1602, when his marriage to Alice Fanshawe took place in the nearby parish church of Saint Margaret's, Barking (about three miles south of Clayhall). There his children were baptised, and mainly buried, between 1604 and 1612.⁶⁷ The implication in the absence of record for offspring born after that may be that the requisite ceremonies for them were conducted in the now-demolished chapel. (It is unclear whether his greater house of Kirby Hall, Northamptonshire had its own chapel by then, or whether it would have been frequented much for the upbringing of the young.)

One can then begin to suspect a function for Mus 56-60, in which it may now be even unique as a surviving artefact. It was owned by a member of the gentry among families who joined the vogue for private chapels developing in just this era. No such claim to religious practice can be made for the Fanshawes. Sir Henry's beliefs, very explicit in his will, were main-stream Calvinist, and it seems unlikely that ornate church devotion was his priority. A private chapel was set up at the Fanshawe seat of Ware Park, but only late on, after the Restoration, by his son and heir Thomas: a date by which the consort anthem repertoire was defunct.⁶⁸ Casual speculation has not been buttressed by a single sign of Fanshawe musical patronage between 1616 and then, and certainly not in the 1630s.

Thoughts of chapel usage have never been considered: not just for misregistered provenance or any misrepresentation, but because of varied obstacles that make it unthinkable. The main one is sheer improbability: a part-secular repertoire. A further look at proportionality in its contents is in order. In a count of items at 80, the secular are one short of a quarter. That is to count into that the five laments, but assign sacred contrafacta to the larger devotional group (or quasi-liturgical, as this views it, in which consort anthems outnumber full, by only one). There is another factor to consider; the binding of Mus 56-60 was possibly as posthumous for Sir Christopher Hatton II as that for Mus 61-67. In other words, there is no assurance that the secular segment was bound in, during his life; the same caveat applicable to the other

⁶⁶ Legg (London, 1911) pp. lii-liii; 'The ancient parish of Barking: Manors' in *VCH A History of the County of Essex* 5 ed. R.B. Pugh (1966), pp. 190-214. 'A private chapel, recently built at Clayhall by Sir Christopher Hatton, then tenant of the mansion, was consecrated in 1616 by Thomas Morton, Bishop of Chester, by commission from John King, Bishop of London. It was licensed for preaching, Holy Communion, baptisms, marriages, and for the burial of members of Hatton's household (fn. 141). This chapel, later used as a barn, was demolished in 1935. It was a small building of red brick. The south-west wall had two round-headed windows with moulded cills inscribed '1659 Hes. Cambell' and '1659 Tho. Cambell'.'

⁶⁷ His monument in Westminster Abbey names his six surviving children, out of twelve. (Originally against the east wall in the lower Islip Chapel, it was transferred in 1940 to the triforium, to allow an altar re-instated on an original site.) The survivors are specified in male-female order as Christopher (b. 1605), John (1610), Francis, William, Elizabeth (1604) and Jane; life-dates as recorded in Barking registers. In those, some of the dead are registered as Alice (1606-8), Jane (1609-1614; clearly a name reused for a later birth), Robert (1612-1614) and Thomas (d. 1618). Yet another Jane seems recorded as buried in the Abbey in 1609, victim of the spotted fever. Whether the private chapel would have contained graves for the later children, possibly baptised there is not known; of course permissible, but dependent on parental choice. Also interred in the vault of the Islip Chapel were Christopher Hatton III (4th July 1670) and four of his children: Charles (1638), Alice (1639), Francis (1642) and Jane (1712; spinster).

⁶⁸ Legg (1911) pp. 218-223, for the order of service; from **GB-Lbl** Additional MS 29586 f. 26, seemingly in the hand of Sir Christopher Hatton III, 1st Baron Hatton (1605-1670).

set, Mus 61-67. The 5-part secular component may well, even seems to, represent a fascicle kept separate. Then again, economies of scale will have been desirable or in fact necessary, even in the upper gentry. Laments (possibly for memorial occasions) could be seen to fit a mixed category, part-way to acceptable in a chapel. Yet what would have been accepted? How free were such institutions to set their own liturgical agenda? It is possible to think, for example, of Amner's *Sacred Hymnes* à3-6 (1615) as almost a blueprint for this type of enterprise, or parallel; somewhere between now-understood categories. The destruction on a massive scale suffered by cathedral sources after war in 1642 is well-known and comprehended; but then it also seems unlikely that many private chapels escaped with their fittings unscathed after the Anglican church was disestablished. We may need simply to allow that this set could give us the working repertoire of one; maybe the major or even sole extant source to do just that, and simply hidden in plain sight: since, the owner and commissioner of such a set unquestioningly had a devotion to collecting anthem, verse and full, from fashionable composers, unparalleled in extant sources. Since that appears to be Hatton, who apart from an impact on musical culture goes down in history otherwise as a notorious *bon viveur*, one must ask what caused so much energy to be channelled into such a project as this set of parts. Stating it so at least clears the decks for the next stage, never yet considered: what evidence is there for early Stuart attitudes to anthem, especially as part of the chapel movement, as well as the operation of such chapels, and their repertoire?

Appendix One: secular content in Mus 56-60

Of total content (80), anthems divide into 31 verse, 30 full (61). The rest (19, including laments) can be called 7 full secular vocal (m), 11 secular vocal unica (mU); secular madrigalian verse (Dering ‘City Cries’, mv). If one detracts laments (L) or devotional song, that 19 (here loosely called secular madrigalian, m), may be reduced to 6 items à5, 4 à6 (12.5% of total):

à5

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|---|
| 24 | [?Thomas Wilkinson] | A seanymphe sate upon the shore |
| | m | [U (à5)] |
| 25 | [?Thomas Wilkinson] | Sweete violetts Matilda gave |
| | mU | |
| 26 | John Warde | Downe in a dale sate a nymphe weeping |
| | mU | |
| 27 | John Warde | My breast i’le sett upon a silver streame |
| | mU | |
| 28 | John Warde | Cruell unkinde, oh stay thy flying |
| | mU | |
| 31* | Richard Deeringe | What doe you lack (‘The Citty cries’) |
| | mv | |

à6

- | | | |
|------|-------------------|--|
| 48 | Thomas Lupo | Ay mee, can love and bewty so conspire |
| | mU ⁶⁹ | |
| 49 | John Warde | Well sounding pipes ‘ffirste parte’ |
| | U | |
| 50 | John Warde | As sharps and flats ‘Second parte’ |
| | U | |
| 51*‡ | John Warde | Noe objecte dearer |
| | L ⁷⁰ | |
| 52 | Thomas ffoorde | Tis now dead nighte |
| | UL ⁷¹ | |
| 53 | William Cranforth | Weepe Brittaines weepe |
| | UL | |
| 54 | Richard Deering | If sorrowe might so fully be expreste |
| | UL | |
| 56 | William Cranforth | Woods rockes and mountaynes |
| | mU ⁷² | |

⁶⁹ Additional MS 24665 f. 6v-7, Och Mus 439 pp. 30-1, a setting for solo voice and unfigured bass (first of four such to be adapted so in this six-part sector).

⁷⁰ The first of three adjacent settings, all entitled ‘Passions on the death of Prince/prince Henry’.

⁷¹ First verse of two in John Coprario *Songs of Mourning* (John Browne; London, 1613) no. 2 (an item dedicated to Queen Anne). All settings published there are for one voice, lute tablature, and a ‘Base’ for ‘Violl’.

66	Thomas ffoorde U ⁷³	Miserere my maker
67	Thomas fforde U	Musicque devine
68	John Warde UL ⁷⁴	If heav'ns iust wrathe
74	Thomas ffoorde mU	Still shall my hopes expecte the morrowe
77	Thomas Foord mU	Oh stay awhile myne eye retyre

* Concorde with Myriell's part-set *Tristitia Remedium*, Additional MSS 29372-7 (no concordances in these sectors with Myriell's single-part assemblage for rejects, Additional MS 29427)

‡ Concorde with Myriell-Fanshawe, Mus 61-66 and (or) 67

Appendix Two: Mus 736-8 and work by the main hand of Mus 56-60?

The MS layout for Mus 736-8 gives three sequences, each numbered from unity: the on-line catalogue adds an overall numerical sequence. In Mus 736 only, the first section ends with an unnumbered work by Jenkins, maybe copied out of sequence. The incipit of its unidentified verse seems not even the start of a piece: 'Faire Aristilla see see the waues the waues appeare / [stave 2] Cleon I doe.' Use of two clefs makes it seem not a single voice-line but a compilation of incipits for vocal segments; it ends incomplete, both musically and verbally.

Sequence I	nos. 1-8	composer "Thomas fforde"
Sequence II	nos. 1-19	composer "Thomas fforde"
Sequence III	nos. 1-19	composer "John Jenkins", all but 6 ("Symon Iue"), and 19 (unascr.)

The chief copyist throughout is a single hand. Interjections by the main copyist of Mus 56-60 at the end of sequences, in all three books, 'Contratennor', 'Tennor' and 'Bassus', are as follows:

⁷² A first verse, less metrically phrased, of two in a play-song lament by Robert Johnson, by type guessed to be from lost *Cardenio* by Fletcher and Shakespeare (1612/13): Lbl Additional MS 11608 f. 15v; Ob MS Don. C. 57 p. 9; Och Mus 87 (Elizabeth Davenant's Book) f. 11v.

⁷³ First stanza of a *contrafactum* for 'Amarilli, mia bella', set to music loosely copying Giulio Caccini's setting: Lbl Additional MS 15117 f.6, for voice and lute tablature. **GB-CKc** Rowe MS 2 (Francis Turpyn's Book) ff. 12v-13 for voice and lute tablature, musically variant, has two other stanzas to address the Trinity entire.

⁷⁴ 'Passions on the death of S^r Hen: ffanshawe.'

(Order and foliation from and as in Mus 736, Contratenor)

Sequence	Fol.	No.	Title	Ascr.
II	14	13	My greifs are as full, help mee	O god Thomas fforde
	14v	14	Praise y ^e Lord O my soule	Thomas fforde
	15	15	O praise y ^e Lord, O = for it is a good thing	Thomas fforde
	15v	16	Heare my praier O Lord	Thomas fforde
III	33v	19	No, tis in vayne, to Cry to thee	[unascr.]

737, Tennon: foliation and all else as in 736.

738, Bassus: all else as in 736 *except* for foliation:

II	15	13
	15v	14
	16	15
	16v	16
III	34v	19

‘Trust not too much’ in a setting by Orlando Gibbons

David Pinto

Orlando Gibbons dedicated his *Madrigals and Mottets* (1612) to Sir Christopher Hatton K.B., second in a close run of four so-named to head a newly eminent branch of the family. On the large-paper presentation partbooks, still extant, the King’s Binder stamped the ‘Golden Hind’, the Hatton crest, adopted on Sir Francis Drake’s flagship.¹ Gibbons in person must have commissioned this touch; a full-page cut of the symbol precedes his dedicatory preface. This exemplar, if any, is the last word for a text of his main secular vocal output. So much for information-content latent in a unique ‘association copy’, ripe for reproduction. An ideal (virtual) edition could adopt high-resolution coloured images from it, this side of luxury: it would also list extant copies. That by Edmund Fellowes, over a century ago in *The English Madrigalists* (EM), consulted just one. Fifty years on, a revision compared one more, leaving the bibliographic shortfall unaddressed, though it did expand literary notes.² The Stationers’ Register gave the issue no entry; no manuscript of it or comment on it survives from the composer’s lifetime.³ This dearth makes all aspects of the published form crucial.

Priority is given here to scrutiny of its verse. Few sets attract close attention for this as entities. To pinpoint the tastes of Hatton, member of a leisured educated class, could be no mere sidelight on madrigals of such standing. Amateurs can find the marriage of words to music in them unsparing—a neutral term to apply, since his string-writing, such as the works for ‘double basse’, can also stretch players’ musical muscle. But experts can also level charges of unvocal underlay against Gibbons. One disparaging twentieth-century response hurled at his church music was ‘mechanical’.⁴ All the more reason to weigh every aspect of a set aspiring to high art, including social context and factors of patronage in madrigalian publication. What follows tries

¹ Christ Church, Oxford, Mus 708-712: on a torse, a hind statant or. This crest stamp is unique, differing from two others on bindings for Hatton’s books. There are two more for his actual bearings as quarterly of six: the first quarter Hatton, azure, a chevron between three garbs or. A further stamp found on music, of the Hatton coat alone, must be for his son Sir Christopher III, 1st Baron Hatton. David Pinto ‘The music of the Hattons’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 23 (1990) 79–108, comprehensively revealed the family musical library: his grandson Christopher IV, 1st Viscount Hatton, disposed of it *en bloc*. Parts of the general collection also went at the same time c.1670, to no single purchaser.

² *Orlando Gibbons First Set of Madrigals and Mottets of Five Parts* ed. Edmund Horace Fellowes (Stainer and Bell, Ltd.; London, 1914) vol. V; formerly *The English Madrigal School* (EMS). Its revision by Thurston Dart (1964), edn no. 1660, compared the copy-text (British Library) to one in Cambridge, presumably University Library. *Performers’ Facsimiles* PF 50 (Broude Brothers; New York, [1993]), edn 93150, uses the British Library copy. *Orlando Gibbons The First Set of Madrigals and Mottets of Five Parts* ed. Virginia Brookes; (PRB Productions; Albany CA, 2000) Viol Consort Series No. 40 gives a score with a brief introduction and vocal-instrumental partbooks. One must suppose that voices had primacy; but a choice of the uncommon term ‘motet’ and the original subtitle’s formulation ‘apt for Viols and Voyces’ hint that varied scorings can be accommodated.

³ Stuart MSS are posthumous: **GB**-Och Mus 21 (score) c.1625-30; **GB**-Ob Mus. f.11-15 (nos. 2, 10-12, 14, 16) and Mus f.20-24 (nos. 1, 7-9, 13, 15, 17-20); Thomas Hamond’s part-sets (1630s?). These omit nos. 3-6.

⁴ An adverse epithet in the preface to *Orlando Gibbons c.1583-1625* ed. P.C. Buck, E.H. Fellowes, A. Ramsbotham, S. Townsend Warner (Oxford University Press for the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust; London, 1925): *Tudor Church Music* vol. 4 (TCM). Canon Fellowes later expressly disassociated himself from it.

to find a basic method for style and content in its choice of verse, by simple criteria. The focus then turns to the genesis of one piece, siting it from unnoted external associations that offer a new perspective on the collection.

Editing vocal music was part of a wider purview for Fellowes. For Gibbons, it ran to his string opus, and a study of family including his composer son, Christopher (work now much extended).⁵ *English Madrigal Verse (EMV)*, another project, combined verbal texts of all types from *EM* and his *English Lute-Song* series (*ELS*).⁶ It has withstood the test of time, but like the series behind it typifies its era. It standardised texts, even in revision; its summary notes do not aim at full bibliography. (Edward Doughtie listed extant copies for its 'lutenist' part, fleshing out literary contexts with an industry yet to be matched in any comparable madrigalian survey.⁷) This is not to disparage editors, or expert editions that, if few auditors spare it a thought, underpin interpretation and so shape reception. (Tellingly, inept ones blight those processes.) Still, nothing is exempt from reappraisal in the loop between them and musico-literary studies. Fellowes based his notes for verse in Gibbons on findings by A.H. Bullen and Sir Sidney Lee. Our subsequent main resources for English madrigal verse are Obertello on Italian roots (less relevant here), and Kerman on genre outright, relating styles of musical to verbal setting in England.⁸

Some work, previously called madrigalian, Kerman redesignated accompanied song; 'consort song'. William Byrd, its chief exponent, converted instrument-backed solos into full part-songs for print. (Unprinted, he left many unaltered.) If refigured into similar solos, or even duets, some by Gibbons blossom; understandably, given consort song's affinity with sententiousness. Some, but by no means all: dividing lines are not clearcut. 'What is our life?', the longest piece, began (for Kerman) in verse anthem form, now termed consort anthem. How to whittle away underlay in its verse-like sections, carve out 'original' string accompaniment, is not so obvious. A further concern is its irreligious or at best cynical text; an attitude unnormative for this time, if not unknown. For it to be wittingly set in anthem guise would be openly provocative parody of a pious genre with a hallowed function in church and home, by a composer moreover who served chapel institutions from youth to death. It affects his integrity as text-setter. His persona cannot be plumbed except through general methods in setting secular texts; and so if the patron co-opting his abilities is more viewable, that could flesh out the interaction. (It could also, incidentally, reflect on another issue in the complex; Kerman's views of English composers' general incapacity to absorb Italian madrigalesque aesthetics.)

Copyright for publications was vested in stationers. It recompensed them, not originators, who could expect a bounty from dedicatees: no legal due, if many solicited did presumably reward prefaces enhancing images of munificent

⁵ *Musica Britannica (MB)* XLVIII has the instrumental music. John Harley *Orlando Gibbons and the Gibbons Family of Musicians* (Ashgate; Aldershot, 1999) revisits archival records but otherwise is derivative.

⁶ Formerly *The English School of Lutenist Song Writers*; both series-titles are misnomers of sorts. *English Madrigal Verse 1588-1632* ed. E.H. Fellowes (Oxford, 1920), rev. Frederick W. Sternfeld and David Greer (3/Oxford, 1967).

⁷ *Lyrics from English Airs 1596-1622* ed. Edward Doughtie (Harvard University Press; Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1970). The output of Thomas Campion is excluded, in expectancy of full treatment elsewhere.

⁸ Alfredo Obertello *Madrigali Italiani in Inghilterra: Storia, Critica, Testi* (Valentino Bompiani; Milano, 1949); Joseph Kerman *The Elizabethan Madrigal* (Galaxy Music Corporation; N.Y., 1961) American Musicological Society Studies and Documents no. 4.

patronage, connoisseurship. Musicians' terms of hire as domestics or journeymen are scantily documented.⁹ One must think that settings were mainly to order: to expect authenticity or independence here may misread the constraints. Yet just that seems demanded to adjudge quality, and the more problematic the more one applies a label like 'major writer'. Byrd did not seek patrons for his second Elizabethan secular set: pure chance, or an assertion of authorial autonomy?¹⁰ Madrigals by Gibbons seem well sited to probe Jacobean limits in treating verse of varied antecedents, not least because his dedication frankly makes Hatton a partial collaborator. Settings '*were most of them composed in your owne house, and doe therefore properly belong vnto you, as Lord of the Soile; the language they speake you provided them, I onely furnished them with Tongues to vtter the same*'. These deferential remarks from a court musician who was surely no resident servant, rather intermittent house-guest, still fall short of the totally explicit.

Did Hatton confer 'language' on all 20 items, or just 'most'? If above half, how much more? Did a patron supplying verse also write some? Two couplets by him to his fiancée c.1601 survive, but no verse circulated under his name. By criteria of circulation or known attribution, nine are *not* his. The first 19th-century edition noted a stanza by Edmund Spenser, partitioned (nos. 10-11).¹¹ By then Josuah Sylvester's praise of stoicism, over four stanzas (nos. 3-6), had been already revived as fodder in early popular anthologies, from an original edition.¹² Two more had wide early Stuart popularity. 'Ah dear heart' (no. 15), a slight aubade on the fringes of the Donne canon, appeared in a version by John Dowland (another 'J.D.') that very year, 1612. 'What is our life' (no. 14) was just as implausibly supposed Sir Walter Raleigh's by some: Fellowes noted both ascriptions. There is a stanza from an unascribed printed lament (no. 2), now thought by Nicholas Breton or (after *EMV* was last revised) Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex.¹³ Nos. **1, 7-9, 12-13, 16-20** (in bold italic here) remain unplaced: 11 out of 20, or 8 out of 13 with parts rejoined. Both sectors show a patron's tastes, but no test yet devised isolates *personal* markers in the unassigned group.

A term 'provide language' hints at a patron who recast work by others, and offers a gambit: comparing professional, sound texts of circulated items with those set in music. Variants that emerge manifest a few oddities, common to both the ascribed and so far unascribed sectors, that betray a stamp of

⁹ On 16th August 1611, recently-knighted Ferdinando Heybourne *alias* Richardson sent two keyboard pieces in a letter for the daughter of Sir Michael Hicke: David Pinto 'Walter Earle and his Successors', *The Consort* 40 (1993) pp. 13-16. This is personal attention, maybe even tuition, at a very exalted level by a groom of the privy chamber; himself a patron to whom Giles Farnaby had dedicated *Canzonets to fowre voyces* (1598).

¹⁰ His set of 1589 was dedicated to Sir Henry Carey and that of 1611 to Francis Clifford, 4th Earl of Cumberland.

¹¹ *Madrigals and Motets for Five Voices* . . . ed. [Sir] George Smart (Chappell & Co., for the Musical Antiquarian Society; London, [1841]). The original, numbered in capital roman, mentioned no authors for its verse. In all partbooks alike, the 'Table' curiously repositions items 14-16 (in the order of the *musical* text) as 15-16-14.

¹² The influential *Specimens of the Early English Poets* ed. George Ellis (London, 1790) Vol. 2 pp. 96-7 has a text titled '*A contented Minde*', from the 1641 re-edition of Sylvester's posthumous *Workes*. That, and attribution of no. 15 to John Donne, were noted in Thomas Oliphant *La Musa Madrigalesca* (Calkin and Budd; London, 1837). See also Edward F. Rimbault *Bibliotheca Madrigaliana A Bibliographical Account* . . . (John Russell Smith; London, 1847: F/ Burt Franklin; New York, [n.d.; 1960s]) Burt Franklin Bibliography & Reference Series no. 143.

¹³ Edward Doughtie 'Nicholas Breton and Two Songs by Dowland', *Renaissance News* xvii (1964) pp. 1-3. Steven W. May cogently put a case for Essex in editing poems by him and Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford: *Studies in Philology* 77 (Early Winter 1980), 1-132.

character. For sheer vapidness, though, two resist comment: a banal doublet setting, ‘How art thou thral’d / Farewell all ioyes’ (nos. 7-8). No. 8 varies line-length madrigal-fashion, but makes a poor fist at any brand of metre, form, or content of worth—no verse-model is identified. Musical phraseology verges on cliché, to match.¹⁴ Comparative lack of verve is not quite grounds to assert that Gibbons scamped handling of a patron’s efforts; but he did merely return serve with cool control. May it be deadpan but immaculate *parody* of a prevailing madrigalism, typified in John Ward?¹⁵ So personal a reaction to a piece is hardly evidence, but routine response to a commission is a conceivable card in a composer’s possible hand. Spenser’s stanza from *The Faerie Queene* (nos. 10-11), also partitioned, is an unobvious choice by subject, however one esteems its verbal artistry. A musical result with habitual polish but again small enthusiasm may add to that impression: plain, broad phrasing and limited harmonic palate with fewer of the subtle touches that invest the set’s outstanding results could be held to lack the composer’s characteristic drive.

A trait sporadically linking both sectors is archaicism. This can be spotted in texts that began with *less*. Stanzas by Sylvester differ in rhyme-scheme and wording from the version in his *Workes*: seen at simplest in stanza 2 (no. 4 in the set) compared side by side.

<p>[A] I tremble not at noyse of warre, I quake not at the Thunders cracke, I shrinke not at a blazing starre, I sound not at the newes of wracke,</p>	<p>[B] I quake not at the Thunders crack, I tremble not at noise of warre, I swound not at the newes of wrack, I shrink not at a Blazing-Starre; [etc. for two more lines]</p>
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A: *Madrigals* (1612): *but line 4:* I sound not at the noyse of warre, *Quintus* ||; I quake not at the Thunders cracke, *Tenor* **B:** Josuah Sylvester *Workes* (1633)

The partbooks’ inconsistent, rather untidy divergence in line-order is proof of the direction of reworking.¹⁶ The fourth stanza (no. 6) is further astray (italics demote discrepancies).

<p>[A] I faine not friendship where I hate, I fawne not on the great <i>for grace</i>, I prise, I praise a meane estate, <i>Ne yet</i> too loftie, nor too <i>base</i>,</p>	<p>[B] I faine not friendship where I hate, I fawne not on the great (in show), I prise, I praise a meane estate, Neither too lofty nor too low: [etc.]</p>
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A: *Madrigals* (1612), *but line 4:* neither *Altus* (at 2nd repeat) **B:** Josuah Sylvester *Workes* (1633)

‘Ne yet too loftie, nor too base’ for ‘Neither . . . nor too low’, if an attempt to heighten tone, fails in style and decorum. ‘Ne’ for ‘nor’ is habitual to Spenser:

¹⁴ The coda of no. 8 seems drawn from ‘O come è gran martire’, Claudio Monteverdi *Madrigali III* à5 (1592) no. 2; but though theme is broadly similar, musical or verse elements give no closer points of comparison.

¹⁵ Ward was a household servant of Sir Henry Fanshawe, whose half-sister was wife to Sir Christopher Hatton II. Thomas Snodham printed Ward’s *First Set* (1613) and that by Gibbons at much the same time. Some hint at musical influence in string ensemble music by Gibbons on Ward, possibly c.1616-19, may be suspected.

¹⁶ Inversion of line-pairs for the first two couplets (2-1-4-3), but elements of line 1 inserted into 4 (Quintus) and repetition of line 2 for 4 (Tenor). The posthumously published version simply must be better accredited.

found in the very stanza chosen to represent him, ‘Faire Ladies that to Loue’ (no. 10): ‘Ne blot the bountie of all Woman-kinde.’ The first of the dedicatees of *The Faierie Queene* in 1590 had been Christopher Hatton I, Lord Chancellor. Did Christopher II, a mere distant second cousin, even if godson and residual heir, mean to emphasise the link?¹⁷ Why else enlist Spenser’s manner?¹⁸ (A dutiful *musical* approach to Spenser, sensed above, would show a less than heartfelt accord with such a plan.) A Spenserian mannerism (and a Chaucerism) is a quirk resorted to again in ‘Trust not’ (no. 20): a prepositional form ‘withouten’ for ‘without’.¹⁹ Trailing speech-elements behind the times seems intent on forging an elevated diction, in the face of Jonson’s curt dismissal of Spenser’s eclecticism (he ‘writ no language’).²⁰

‘O that the learned Poets’ (no. 2) has a rhyme-scheme wrecked outright; given here entire, with italics again inserted to show the main alterations in lines 2/4.

[A]	[B]
O that the learned Poets of this time,	O that the learned Poets of this time,
Who in a Loue-sicke line so well <i>can speake</i> ,	(Who in a loue-sicke line so well indite)
Would not consume good Wit in hatefull rime,	Would not consume good Wit in hatefull rime,
But with <i>deepe</i> care some better subiect <i>finde</i> ,	But would with care some better subiect write,
For if their Musicke please in earthly things,	For if their Musicke please in earthly things, 5
<i>How</i> would it sound if <i>strung</i> with heauenly strings ?	Well would it sound if straind with heau’nly strings?

A: *Madrigals* (1612) **B:** *The Passion of a Discontented Mind* (by V.S. for John Bailly; London, 1601)

Sylvester’s rhyme was at least given a botched repair when rejigged. This unforced ruin of rhyme-scheme does no semantic favours to the original. It is crazy paving, if lines 1/3 stay unaltered, and beyond a blip—literally without rhyme or reason.²¹ If not cast-iron proof of a patron intervening, no mere *setter*

¹⁷ The ‘hind’ symbol prefacing the dedication by Gibbons is a cut unique to the publication, but quoting a text from *Proverbs* in its surround. A device used 1582-3 for the esteemed London printer Henry Bynneman, client of Lord Chancellor Christopher Hatton I, gives a combination of that exact text with the same family crest.

¹⁸ Richard Carlton *Madrigals to Fine voyces* (1601) is the only other set of any type to make recourse to Spenser (for four items). Carlton is ungainly and old-fashioned to a fault, in music as in texts employed, but in no other verse used is he ever outright obscurantist in vocabulary or diction.

¹⁹ Fellowes relished it so little as wrongly to claim it a misprint by Smart. He recast it to read ‘without enpitying’, positing a non-existent—spurious—verb. (The nearest form is ‘enpite’, but no less archaic than ‘withouten’; and use of it would be ametric to boot.) *EMV* (1967) tacitly reinstated ‘withouten’.

²⁰ Archaic-poetic Spenserian touches account for ‘erst’ (no. 13) and ‘I ioy in dole, in languishment I pine’ (no. 18). ‘Dole’ for grief, like ‘languishment’, is shared with Sir Philip Sidney (and for that matter Shakespeare). Throughout the tripartite lament, Gibbons reverts within consort-song idiom to a more Byrd-like even metric step. Atypically archaic for him, it is paralleled to an extent in ‘The siluer Swanne’ (no. 1), also taken to be consort song (which doubled later almaine-style as a masque dance à2, Tr-B, in Lbl Additional MS 10444.)

²¹ Rewording of lines 4/6 could be an attempt to condense meaning. Persistence of this tendency is short of conclusive proof, of course.

will have dared to deform texts on a whim and mete out arbitrary treatment. Mentally-adjusted defective rewording must predate that stage.²² An image forms of a patron, complacent enough to hash selected texts; picking with gusto, but mangling his choice by memorial reconstruction with equal vigour. Only a man who chose ‘most’ of the verse for setting in his house can have imposed fussy mouldings in work by others. Searching the unassigned sector for associable traces of skewed approach, verse with similar curlicues that he could have devised, then gains in appeal. In lieu of a total study, what follows looks at a particular case, the clearest instance to inch one’s way in. It is the last (no. **20**) that offers types of clues to a versifier’s methods unnoted so far: apart from archaicism in wording, an acquired text, a classical paraphrase, reshaped in freer form than the one other comparable; also, an eye for imagery.

Trust not too much faire youth vnto thy feature,
 Be not enamored of thy blushing hew,
 Be gamesome whilst thou art a goodly creature,
 The flowers will fade that in thy garden grew,
 Sweet Violets are gathered in their spring, [5]
 White Primit fals withouten pittying.²³

This expands an excerpt from Virgil, and so pairs it with ‘*Lais* now old’ (no. **13**), which treats an epigram from the Planudean *Greek Anthology* that way.²⁴ It opposes both to the one genuine translation, of a recent madrigal, ‘Daintie fine Bird’ (no. **9**). Both are also musically paired, sharing a final (a ‘key’) and distinctive formal handling. Both open with ‘points’ of abstract canzona-like contour, fluid falling tetrachords, extended to a fifth in ‘Trust not’.²⁵ Both treat verse-lines *seriatim* with discrete motifs, and generous helpings of quaver flurries. ‘Trust not’ establishes structure by a short burst of three-part homophony at bars 24-6 (verse-line 4): it defines a route to a penultimate section, verse-line 5, the piece’s musical heart.²⁶ Its late placement distinguishes it from ‘*Lais*’, which increases momentum at its end.²⁷ (Final line 6 may evoke a motif of falling privet blossom by reverting to quaver flurries.) Structure and harmony in the line reveal an underlying crux, vital to the versifier: the

²² The substitutes in this piece add no nuance of value and even detract somewhat from meaning; raising the irresolvable question, whether the ideal performance should respect the original verse or not.

²³ Variant ‘springtime’ in line 5 occurs in Altus, once only against ‘spring’ for three other occurrences in it.

²⁴ Fellowes (following Bullen) mentioned just one of them, by Plato: Book 6 no. 1. It is the nearest, but only by a margin. He also noted elegiacs by Ausonius, again not close to the English. There are others in Book 6, also 3rd-century AD: nos. 18-20 (Julian, Prefect of Egypt), no. 71 (Paulus Silentarius). A Hatton binding survives on a source for anecdotes about *Lais*, Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* (Lyon, 1612): London, Society of Antiquaries 211 A. Its stamp was more likely cut for Christopher III, as found on music MSS bound for him.

²⁵ Broad rather than close comparisons serve. ‘*Lais*’ is reminiscent of the incipit of John Coprario Fantasia (VdGS) no. 45 à5, ‘Dove il liquido argento’. ‘Trust not’ has a slighter likeness to Coprario no. 9 à5, ‘Luci beate e care’, opening point (upper half of the double subject).

²⁶ For pieces cited, this is to take bar-length at uniform breve value (an extra semibreve before a final long occurs in six of the others). ‘*Lais*’ has a phrase of near-homophony, but early, bars 5-6 (verse-line 2), then settles for a melodic development in continuous rhythmic flow. It could function well as an accompanied high-voice solo; line 1 has widely spaced phrases. ‘Trust not’ inverts its opening point; ‘*Lais*’ does not.

²⁷ Francis Baines pointed out a far more plangent passage, reused between In Nomine no. 1 à5 and Fantasia no 5 à6. Lack of verbal cues is a constraint in assigning overt meaning to these passages, but this and other madrigalian touches suggest that Gibbons did have some special if unspecified emotive value attached to all. In these madrigals a slow section is not routine; only some engage in one, chiefly nos. **12**, **16**.

poignancy of fragrant culled flowers.²⁸ Placement of the passage gives it a somewhat fantasia-like form. Its use of slower note-values and dissonance (relatively mild for this composer's palette, used to paint an image of sweetness) mirrors recent five-part fantasia with an Italianate veneer: Italian incipit-titlings, and sections in contrasting *tempi*. The chief output, even prolific, provided by colleagues of Gibbons in departments of the Private Music (whether of James I or his crown prince, Henry Frederick) came from John Coprario and Thomas Lupo (or a family *atelier* under a Lupo sobriquet). Gibbons was of a generation and background that wrote In Nomines in five parts, but never tried to match them there in free fantasia. He did try his hand at other levels: three-part (like Coprario), four-part in a specialised way, and (paralleled by Coprario alone) *bicinia*. 'Trust not', bars 19-22 (verse-line 3), wanders furthest from vocal feasibility by applying a quaver group, eight at fullest, to the words 'gamesome whilst thou art a goodly'.²⁹ That consonantal cluster may point to a briskest tempo attainable, or else a tendency almost equal to Bach's to test singers' mettle. ('*Lais*' bestows a five-quaver group on 'her selfe hath now no'; less extreme, but twisting the lips rather than the tongue.)³⁰ In upshot, 'Trust not' matches '*Lais*' in its almost instrumental ways, as does *not* apply to the one identified translation from Gian Battista Guarini, 'Daintie fine Bird'.

'Trust not' was, Fellowes warily put it, 'suggested by Vergil'. He cited a distich from *Ecloga* 2, 'Formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexim'. In that, shepherd Corydon pours out his love for a slave-boy: forbidden fruit, since Corydon is a hire-servant to the very man who owns Alexis bodily. As an excerpt this is bizarre by subject, but innocuous enough out of context, taken just as a reproof to callow youth. By lines 17-18, Corydon has resorted to admonishing the boy: 'O formose puer, nimium ne crede colori: | Alba ligustra cadunt, vaccinia nigra leguntur'. The English is wadded paraphrase. Line 1 is Virgil line 17, straight, just restated in 2: line 3 is novel, but diffuse.³¹ Line 4 moves to anticipating the images of Virgil's pithy second line, but in altered terms. The first half of that line 18 ('white privet falls') provides final English line 6: but its precursor alters Virgil's ending, 'dark bilberries are picked', into 'Sweet Violets are gathered in their spring'. Virgil is succinct and precise in aim. Privet-blossom is decorative but insubstantial; ripe berries have use-value. Bilberries, listed in Gerarde's recent *Herball*, were common in Britain.³² The paraphrase, inverting Virgil's order, turns this into a contrast between *flowers*: pointless, unless the two differ in tint (but that is unstated). The versifier may intend to compare, not contrast. Even so, to link similar plants, both fleeting, contradicts a truism stated shortly before in no. 13, line 2: 'Sweet are the Violets, yet soone grow olde' (note reuse of 'sweet'). Why this lunge at a new meaning, using

²⁸ It is also the semantic nub of 'Fair is the Rose' (no. 16) where flower-imagery is applied to the poet's 'Mistris' to lament loss of beauty, 'altred quite in one short houres space'; whether by disease or death is unclear. In madrigal-fantasia fashion, it follows a slower-paced section on that beauty. The setting of Spenser (no. 11) contains a 'rose' metaphor, but scarcely prominent enough to have provoked its selection. See also fn 37.

²⁹ Bars 15-24 set line 3, at first over a lesser span of quavers.

³⁰ One could return at this point to address criticism of Gibbons for perfunctory underlay, and make a case that his style compromises words and music equally, to create a unique midway amalgam.

³¹ Resort to lumbering 'gamesome' may also owe something to *The Faerie Queene* and 'Mutabilitie Cantos'.

³² John Gerarde *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes* (John Norton; London, 1597). Chapter 69, 'Of Whortes, or Whortle Berries', lists varieties of *vaccinia* with *nigra*, *rubra* and *alba* colorations.

outworn imagery, when it lacks any distinct focus?

Firstly, violets intrude from elsewhere. Virgil *Ecloga* 10:39, ‘et violæ nigrae sunt, et vaccinia nigra’ offers the thought ‘there are both dark violets and dark bilberries to be had’. So; did the one word ‘vaccinia’ induce a blind swerve in Hatton’s mental associations (if by now we can presume to name and blame him)? That is still to foist a skewed comparison on Virgil. There was though an exterior trigger, part-licensing him. It lies in a conflation, from an image in a very influential emblem book: Otto Cornelisz van Veen *Amorum Emblemata* (Antwerp, 1608). Of three Latin epigraphs (*subscriptiones*) to emblem no. 87, the first and third are the exact lines fused in ‘Trust not’: *Ecloga* 2:17-18 and 10:39.³³ They assort closely with their engraving, of a pair of winged *putti*. The one standing at left, darker-skinned and naked, has just shot an arrow into his clothed companion at right, who is kneeling to pluck fruit from a bush, his bow and quiver laid to ground.³⁴ {Figure 1}

Amorum Emblemata had three to four polyglot forms, each printed and published in three languages or more to make a total five or maybe six issues; a sizeable operation.³⁵ Its version ‘c’ has a dedication from the scholar-artist author ‘Otho Vænius’, teacher of Rubens, of 20th August 1608: ‘To the moste honorable, and woorthie brothers, *William Earle* of Penbroke, and *Philip Earle* of Mountgomerie, patrons of learning and cheualrie.’³⁶ Henry Prince of Wales owned van Veen’s previous issue, *Emblemata Horatiana* (1607). Hatton, who entertained Henry’s parents on progress from 1605, was surely in the swim with court culture. All signs, Spenserian homage not least, give a presumption of him as the likeliest author. Resort to flower imagery throughout the set may be uncoincidental.³⁷ The refined horticulturism of his son and both grandsons are visible in family correspondence. It seems that his eye was caught by an

³³ The second is ‘—— placuit Cephēia Persei | Andromade [*si*], patriæ fusca colore suæ.’ Ovid *Epistolæ Heroidum* 15.35-6 (*Sappho ad Phaontem*): ‘Perseus was smitten with Andromeda, daughter of Cepheus, despite the dusky complexion of her home land’ (Ethiopia). ‘Trust not’ does not pursue its theme of skin hue.

³⁴ 104 images in the numbered sequence of 124 are of a single Cupid; 19 of a pair.

³⁵ The three editions were (a) Latin-Dutch-French (pasted-in Spanish texts in one form), (b) Latin-Italian-French, (c) Latin-English-Italian; though the last of these has been counted separately: *STC* (2nd edn) 24627a.8, etc.. The signature ‘R.V.’ for the one provider of a prefaced English commendatory poem in (c) is taken to show that Richard Verstegan wrote all this edition’s English quatrains: Samuel C. Chew ‘Richard Verstegen and the *Amorum Emblemata* of Otho van Veen’, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 8/2 (February 1945) 192-9. Vænius admitted a lack of personal acquaintance with English, not then much spoken in his country. His engraver C[ornelis] Boel worked on English publications, including the AV Bible (1611), as Chew noted.

³⁶ Three versions of *Amorum Emblemata* make up British Library 11556.bbb.58.-60; the other, 96.a.26, Italian-French. In 1604 Philip Herbert married Susan Vere, daughter to the Earl of Oxford. He became a gentleman of the bedchamber in 1605, with the title Montgomery created for him; aged 24, he was installed K.G. in 1608.

³⁷ ‘Fair is the Rose’ has a revealing passing reference (line 2) mentioned above, for transient *whiteness* in a female face, since also likened to the lily, and snow. In its penultimate line, ‘*Lais*’ mentions in a Shakespearian sense the rosiness of a cheek, the female speaker’s lost ‘spring-time damaske grace’. Suspicions of Hatton’s preoccupations are heightened by ‘And Lillies in their spring-time hang their head’; the last line of ‘Yet if that age’ (no. 19) and final part of an epicedium for a young man suggested by Thurston Dart to have been Henry Frederick, first Stuart Prince of Wales (d. 1612): *EM* V (R/1964). Chances that verse with a lament-function and further resort to flower-imagery was worded by Hatton are strengthened by the context explored here, given his intimacy with royalty. Another piece to mention violets, but anonymous, uniquely occurs in Christ Church Mus 56-60, a set apparently assembled for Hatton (as an associated article is to claim).

image to note the Latin texts. He did *not* draw on the odd parallel English verse inserted for *Amorum Emblemata* version ‘c’:³⁸

Brown beries are sweet of taste.
Cupid not alwayes doth, shoot at the fayrest whyte,
But at the louely brown, moste often drawes his bow,
Good gesture and fyne grace, he hath the skill to know,
Delighting for to chuse, the cause of his delight.

This has no bearing at all on the three excerpts quoted for the emblem, or the verse set by Gibbons; that instead echoes English precursors. Among them, Shakespeare’s *Venus and Adonis* (1593) stanza 22 comes most to mind. It, and its rhyme-scheme (also invoking the word ‘time’), were possibly latent in Hatton’s memory, for this and ‘*Lais*’:

Make use of time, let not advantage slip,
Beautie within it selfe should not be wasted,
Faire flowers that are not gathred in their prime,
Rot, and consume them selves in litle time.

The locus for text-settings by Gibbons must be 1608-1612. Hatton gained leave to sell entailed property in 1605; in 1607-8 he sold the Lord Chancellor’s prodigy house, Holdenby (Holmby) Hall, to the Crown. The proceeds must have enabled him to live at last in a manner befitting his station. ‘Daintie fine Bird’ translates ‘Auuenturoso augello’, Guarini’s madrigal from *Rime* (1598); another translation entirely is John Danyel ‘Thou prety Bird, how do I see’ (published 1606).³⁹ Guarini was then much in vogue, especially for *Il Pastor Fido*, as Ben Jonson remarked pointedly in *Volpone, or the Fox* (enacted 1606):⁴⁰

All our *English* writers,
I meane such, as are happy in th’ *Italian*,
Will deigne to steale out of this authour, mainely;
Almost as much, as from MONTAGNIE;
He has so modern, and facile a veine,
Fitting the time, and catching the court-eare . . .

Sylvester had some capacity in the entourage of the Prince of Wales (invested 1610), but it lapsed after the prince died, 6th November 1612. Thurston Dart plausibly suggested that a commemoration of that death is an extended lament by Gibbons (nos. **17-19**).⁴¹ Its verse too can only be of Hatton’s devising;

³⁸ Verbal texts face or precede the emblem on p. 172. The English verse is unlike the French and Italian, in a mystifyingly contrary reading of the action portrayed: the brown cupid is the marksman, *not* the target. Donna B. Hamilton sees the English dedication as a conciliatory bridge-building overture to potential leaders of English protestantism, by Vaenius or (more likely) his patrons: ‘Richard Verstegan and the Catholic resistance: the encoding of antiquarianism and love’, Chapter 5 of *Theatre and Religion Lancastrian Shakespeare* ed. Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay, Richard Wilson (Manchester University Press; Manchester, 2003). Her thesis emphasises the ‘chamæleon’ nature of love, and Verstegan’s attempt to lend it divine overtones.

³⁹ John’s brother Samuel Daniel, then much in demand for court entertainments, could have supplied the text for setting. The version in Gibbons was rehandled as ‘Dainty sweet bird’: Thomas Vautour *The First Set: beeing Songs of diuers Ayres and Natures* (1619) no. 18; see *EMV*.

⁴⁰ *Volpone* Act 3 Scene 2, from *The Works of Benjamin Jonson* [vol. 1] London | Printed by | Richard Bishop. | and are to be sold by | Andrew Crooke | in St. Pauls, | Church-yard. | (An^o D. 1640.) Samuel Daniel is the suspected butt of Jonson’s remark.

⁴¹ Gibbons used the end of part 2 (no. **18**) for a self-quotation in a keyboard pavan of memorial sort; first noted in David Pinto ‘Gibbons in the Bedchamber’, *John Jenkins and his Time Studies in English Consort Music* ed. Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman (Clarendon Press; Oxford, 1996) pp. 89-110.

expressing personal grief for a young man, described as ‘My deerest friend’. (It has implications for publication date; less likely 1612 than early 1613, before Lady-Day.) ‘Trust not’, out of Vaenius, suits this time-frame. But then music based on emblem-book images has continuity with a broader pre-madrigalian era; part of a common visual and conceptual heritage based on the original emblems by Andrea Alciato. They stayed in print through Hatton’s life. The first (seemingly unauthorised) illustrated edition of Alciato (1531) showed the tomb of the courtesan Lais, a symbol of desire’s outcome: ‘Tumulus Meretricis’ {Figure 2a}. Its moralising element is owed to its late-classical handlings, just as in Hatton’s ‘*Lais* now old’.⁴² ‘The siluer Swanne’ was the bird added as the poets’ ensign, ‘insignia poëtarum’, in editions from 1534. Byrd’s songs include six based on purely English imitations of that sixteenth-century style in emblems.⁴³

The new century gave new directions to emblem book. Hatton’s response to this one image and its texts are probably very little affected by the Counter-Reformation intent behind *Amorum Emblemata*. Nor can the music of the set have regard to that, if what guided it most was an amateur versifier’s set of attitudes, models from antiquity or more recent reactions to them prominent among them.⁴⁴ Others may have contributed in Hatton’s kinship circle, but it feels likelier that a single patron kept control of handling fresh, topical verse texts.⁴⁵ The Flight of Time, Beauty and Love recur from first to last item in the set, and at intervals between in almost thematic form, in flower imagery and songs of an encaged or dying bird. Colour is contrasted to pallor, an interwoven background thread picked out by the music to symbolise transience. A patron’s elegiac emotions and imagery were picked up, appreciated and set by a sympathetic composer. *His* attitudes to demands on him now seem more assessable, as either elegant solution or (often) heartfelt response.

Gibbons was entertaining at court by 1611, then came to serve the successor Prince of Wales Charles, and even King James: his most innovative string work grows out of that.⁴⁶ Hatton may not have kept abreast of it, up to his death in 1619: 1612 probably marked the end to a period of greatest intimacy. Yet he had special access to large-scale works by Gibbons, as in an early unique variant form of In Nomine no. 2 à 5.⁴⁷ His son oversaw recopying of the six-part *œuvre*, now the only complete source: six fantasias, and a variation set on ‘Goe from my window’ with a related, wider-circulated Pavan-Galliard pair.⁴⁸ Christopher II certainly cultivated string-playing. Yet until new information

⁴² Lines 3-4: ‘Nulla fuit tum forma[;] illam iam carpserrat ætas, | Iam speculum Veneri cauta dicarat anus.’ ‘Devoid of beauty by then, time-ravaged, in old age she had prudently dedicated her glass to Venus’.

⁴³ Geoffrey Whitney *A Choice of Emblemes, and other Devises* (Christopher Plantyn; Leyden, 1586). Philip Brett ‘*Musicae Modernae Laus*: Geoffrey Whitney’s Tributes to the Lute and Its Players’, *The Lute Society Journal* (LSJ) 7 (1965) 40-44; also as *William Byrd and His Contemporaries Essays and a Monograph* ed. Joseph Kerman and Davitt Moroney (University of California Press; Berkeley and Los Angeles, and London, 2007) chapter 5, pp. 60-5.

⁴⁴ For emblems as class-inherited coinage, see C[h]arles].W.R.D. Moseley ‘A Portrait of Sir Christopher Hatton, Erasmus and an Emblem of Alciato: Some Questions’, *The Antiquaries Journal* 86 (September 2006) 373-9.

⁴⁵ Indicatively, a seemingly early crest stamp on the binding shows that Hatton owned *The Arte of English Poesie* ascr. George Puttenham (Richard Field; London, 1589); Washington, Library of Congress PN1031.P8.

⁴⁶ Pinto ‘Gibbons in the Bedchamber’ (1996) surveys his career from 1611 up to *Fantazies of III. Parts* (c.1622).

⁴⁷ MB XLVIII nos. 28. The commentary there to the piece stresses the source’s late date, but that is irrelevant.

emerges or analytic pathways suggest themselves, recreating the precise rôle for strings behind the burnished surface of the madrigal set may remain just beyond recapture.



Figure 1. 'Le Troène blanc tombe et on cueille le vaciet noir', a French explication or motto added in ink here, translates only the one essential *subscriptio*, Virgil *Ecloga* 2: 18 (original spellings 'Troesne' and, seemingly, 'ceuille').

This image is courtesy of *Emblem Project Utrecht*: mounted by the Faculty of Arts of the University of Utrecht, the Research Institute for Culture and History of the University of Utrecht (OGC), the University Library of Utrecht, the Royal Library (KB, The Hague), the Digital Library for Dutch Language and Literature (DBNL, Leiden) and the Emblem Digitisation Research Group (Glasgow University). It is from one of three copies in collection at Utrecht, Faculty of Arts Library; shelf number LB-KUN: RAR LMY VEEN, O 2. This interleaved copy of version (b) has additions that are attributable by hand and signature to François Tristan l'Hermite du Solier (1602-1655).

Vaenius (1608) *Amorum Emblemata* intr. Karel Porteman (Scolar Press; Aldershot, 1996) gives a facsimile of version (c) with transcriptions of Dutch and French texts. *The English Emblem Tradition 4 Camden H.G. Van Veen* (University of Toronto, 1998) has Peter M. Daly's transcription, with reproductions. Stephen Rawles 'The Bibliographical Context of Glasgow University Library SMAdd.392: a Preliminary Analysis', *Emblems and the Manuscript Tradition* ed. Laurence Grove (University of Glasgow, 1997) 105-118; Glasgow Emblem Studies 2.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* respectively nos. 31-6 and 40 with 41-2. Date of recopying was probably over a lengthy period from c.1640 or even later; David Pinto 'Placing Hatton's Great Set', *Chehs (VdGSJ)* 32 (2004) pp. 1-20.

Ipse & reptans ramis has collige, mentis
 Qui constantis erit, premia digna feret.
 TUMVLVS MERETRICIS.

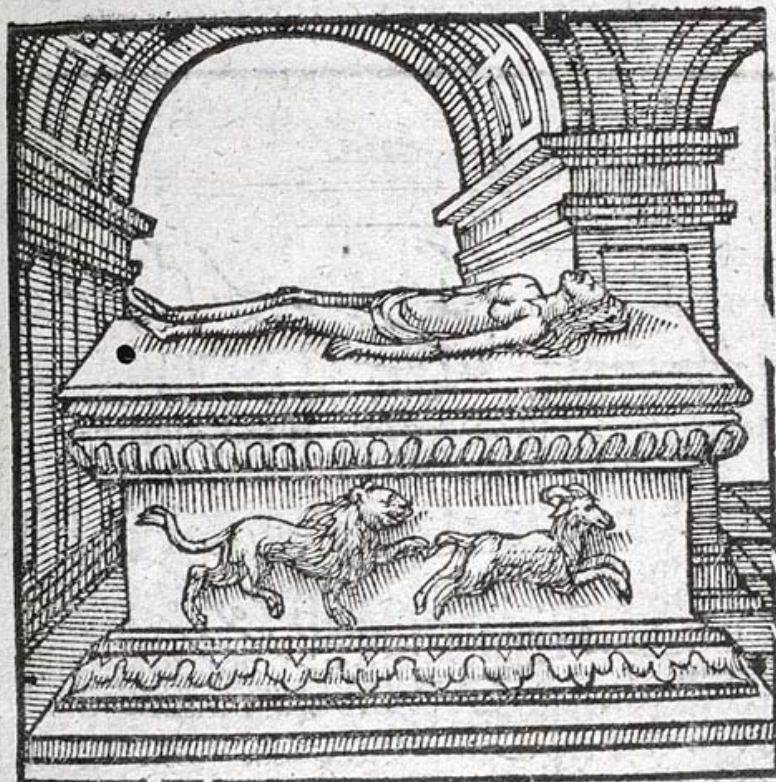


Quis tumulus? cui urna? Ephyræ est Laidos, &
 Erubuit tantum perdere parca decus? (non
 Nulla fuit tum forma illam iam carpserat ætas,
 Iam speculum Veneri cauta dicarat anus.
 Quid sculptus sibi vult Aries quem parte leona
 Vnguibus apprensam posteriore tenet?
 Non aliter captos q. & ipsa teneret amantes,
 Vir gregis est aries clune tenetur amans.
 IN PARASITOS.



Figure 2a: Andrea Alciato *Emblematum liber* (Heinrich Steyner; Augsburg, 28th February, 1531) sig B3v. Courtesy of *Alciato at Glasgow*

Tumulus meretricis.
EMBLEMA LXXIV.



QVISTUMULUSsicuia urna? Ephyræa est Laidos. ah!

Erubuit tantū perdere Parca decus? [non

e saxi Nulla fuit tum forma. illam iam carpserrat atas,

Iam speculum Veneri cauta dicarat anus.

ia corni Quid scalptus sibi vult aries, quem parte leana

rat: Vnguibus apprehensum posteriore tenet?

untur, Non aliter captos quod & ipsa teneret amantes:

Vir gregis est aries, clune tenetur amans.

Tumu

In ama-

Figure 2b: Andreae Alciati *Emblemata* (Plantin; Leiden, 1591) no. 74, p.93.
Courtesy of Alciato at Glasgow

Appendix

Sir Christopher Hatton II and musical patronage

A love of music is evident from the Hattons' huge musical library, printed and manuscript; I have shown this to survive in a very complete state in the collection of Christ Church, Oxford (as bequeathed to the college by Henry Aldrich, its late Dean). It seems preserved in entirety there, so far as can be discerned; though it is not possible to isolate its extent. Much could have been part of it yet remains unassignable. One instrumental MS set, Mus 372-6, can be dated as early as 1597, and so associable with Sir Christopher Hatton II at a time when his tastes presumably formed: and atypical for England it is, too, with an Italian repertoire à4-5, some unique, including *canzone*.⁴⁹ *Madrigals and Mottets* is the one sign in print of Hatton as an active musical patron, soliciting work from a renowned composer. The only other is not all that it seems: Tobias Hume *Captaine Humes Poeticall Musicke* (1607) for *lyra viol*, one especial item in its second part: 'The pashion of Musicke', subtitled 'Sir Christopher Hattons choice'. Hume named pieces for a gallimaufry of patrons; the first section contains, also for solo *lyra*, 'The Lady Hattons delight' headed 'Musicke and Mirth'. This probably was for the widow of Sir William (Newport) Hatton, who preceded Sir Christopher as family head. *Née* Elizabeth Cecil, she remarried the jurispudent Sir Edward Coke. Remaining Lady Hatton, she cut a figure at court, though unsuccessful in becoming lady in waiting to Queen Anne; she was probably Hume's mark, since given to throwing lavish parties at her dower house, Hatton House in Holborn, London. It would have been unusual in any case for dedications of this sort to be thrown at both members of a married couple, who would rarely have had distinct social rôles, unlike the formidable Lady Hatton.

Edward Doughtie's bibliographic handling threw up other facets of Hume's strategy that reduce likelihood of interaction with Sir Christopher.⁵⁰ 'Several [items] . . . are versions of pieces first printed in Hu1605 [Hume *The First Part of Ayres* (1605)]' is one of his side-comments, incidentally revealing Hume's *penchant* for canny thrift. In 1605, Hume's aim was principally at William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke, to whom the book's entirety was dedicated; also a galliard within. (The only other nobles named in titled works were continental— foreign; the only other Englishman awarded a dedicated piece was one 'Maister Crasse'.) By 1607 his forms of targeting were broader. He dedicated the issue as a whole to Queen Anne, consort of the new king of England, James I and VI. He also named individual pieces for over fifteen members of the nobility and gentry, from the queen downward; the Earl still included with the same galliard, recycled. John Dowland had employed a comparable spatter tactic for his dance-collection *Lachrimæ* ([1604]); by coincidence or not, also dedicated as a whole to the queen, but with individual

⁴⁹ *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts containing Consort Music* ed. Andrew Ashbee, Robert Thompson and Jonathan Wainwright (Ashgate; Aldershot, 2008) pp. 238-40. There is also Hatton private patronage of the composer George Jeffries to be considered, in the following generation. It is far from clear in what capacity Jeffries operated within the family. He appears to have been, in a titular way at least, a general domestic, steward for Christopher Hatton III, later first Baron Hatton (d. 1670). How that extended to musical duties is undocumented except in the survival of his compositions: mainly religious, but in fact showing little appearance in the identified Hatton library, and with a largely distinct line of descent, if not multiple lines. If written as seems for the Hatton private chapel, the care and preservation of it may have been largely due to Jeffries himself. It is however noteworthy that the Hattons themselves should have bothered so little to retain copies of his output.

⁵⁰ *Lyrics from English Airs 1596-1622* (1970) pp. 281-2, 559-60.

names added to all items after the first eight. As discussed elsewhere, its initial highly unusual cycle of seven 'Lachrimæ' pavans is the part implicitly reserved for the queen by this method. Dowland's own 'seal' pavan, 'Semper Dowland semper dolens', heads the following pavan group; to that extent standing outside anything that follows. That main sequence can be considered the *entrée*, dances ordered by *genre*, pavans, galliards, almaines. (Rank determined place in the pecking-order of each segment; thus a galliard for the King of Denmark, Anne's brother, follows pavans for English gentry and commoners but does head the galliards). Hume's keen eye for Dowland's output was not above directly aping it.⁵¹ He may have copied dedicatory method directly as well, to maximise the efficacy of outreach to potential patrons. His presentation copy to Queen Anne survives; an extra hand-written note facing its printed dedication beseeches her to receive him—hear him perform.⁵² This has implications. Some attention directed to Hume's antecedents suggests that his Scots roots eased his access to Anne. This message though detracts from thoughts of close links, or any acquaintance at all, and may even suggest that Hume had precious little patronage to fall back on. (However the 'Hunting Song' that ends the work claims to have been 'sung before two Kings'. As Doughtie remarks, one has to infer that they were James and his brother-in-law Christian IV of Denmark, who accompanied him hunting during a state visit, July-August 1606. It is possible that Hume had insinuated himself into some relatively informal occasion surrounding the hunt.) Of larger concern is a further step that he took with *Poeticall Musicke*; one significantly too far.

Apart from the presentation copy, three others survive. The Folger Shakespeare Library's copy lacks the first part; its second is dedicated to a Howard, Earl of Arundel. Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel, a renowned connoisseur favoured by Charles I who guided his tastes in collecting must be intended but, as Doughtie noted, Hume misnamed him 'Philip Earle of Arundel' (d. 1595): a sign that he was not at all *au fait* with the circumstances of potential patrons. The copy in the Manchester Public Library is whole: its second part is comparably dedicated, but this time to Sir Christopher Hatton II (with an extra address, unspecific to Hatton, to '... Lordes, Louers of Musicke and fauourers of all liberal *Artes and Learning*'). The two added dedications are wellnigh identically worded, except that that for Arundel is truncated by a quarter or so of the wording for Hatton. The sheer insincerity manifest in compliments repeated *verbatim* sheds no very favourable light on Hume. The subterfuge use of multiple dedication sheets cannot be approved of; a practice indeed condemned as unethical at this very time. Thomas Dekker explained the process in *Lanthorne and Candle-light* (1609), colourfully termed a 'new kinde of Hawking'. In his metaphor, the unscrupulous compiler of ephemera is the 'Falconer', with a help-meet, a 'Spaniell', in the part of a servant:

The Falconer hauing scraped together certaine small paringes of witte, he first cuttes them hansomely in pretty peeces, and of those peeces does he patch vppe a booke. This booke he prints at his own charge, the Mongrell running vppe and downe to look to the workemen, and bearing likewise some parte of the cost, (for which he enters vpon his halfe share) When it is fully finished, the

⁵¹ His song 'What greater grieve' of 1607 is a direct 'steal' from Dowland's 'Lachrimæ'; Hume's capacity for originality or indeed any musical continuity was limited.

⁵² British Library, shelf-mark K.2.g.11. from Doughtie p. 559: 'I doe in all humylitie beseech your Maiestie that you would bee pleased to heare this Musick by mee; hauing excellent Instruments to performe itt.'

Falconer and his Mongrell, or it may bee two Falconers ioyne in one,) but howsoeuer, it is by them deuised what Shire in England it is best to forrage next: that beeing set downe, the Falconers deale either with a Herauld for a note of all the Knights and Gentlemens names of worth that dwell in that circuit, which they meane to ride, or els by inquiry get the chieftest of them, printing of so many Epistles as they haue names, y^e epistles Dedicatory being all one, and vary in nothing but in the titles of their patrons.

It is Hume to a tee. Dekker continued by describing how rogues of this kidney could circumvent a potential patron's suspicion of multiple dedications:

If a gentleman seeing one of these bookes Dedicated onely to his name, suspect it to be a bastard, that hath more fathers besides himselfe, and to try that, does deferre the Presenter for a day or two, sending in the meane time (as some haue done) into Paules Church-yard amongst the stationers, to inquire if any such worke be come forth, & if they cannot tell, then to steppe to the Printers: Yet haue the *Falconers* a tricke to goe beyond such Hawkes too, for all they flye so hie. And that is this: The bookes lye all at the Printers, but not one line of an epistle to any of them (those bug-bears lurke in *Tenebris*): if then the *Spy* that is sent by his Maister, ask why they haue no dedications to them, *Mounsier* Printer tels him, the author would not venture to adde any to them all, (sauing onely to that which was giuen to his Maister, vntill it was knowne whether he could accept of it or no.

This satisfies the Patron, this fetches money from him: and this *Cozens* fue hundred besides.

This chicanerie is nothing like the subscription effort; benign in comparison, or at least less exploitative. The first English publication by advance subscription, printed prospectus and list of subscribers, was *Ἡγήμων εἰς τὰς γλώσσας. id est Ductor in linguas, The Guide into Tongues* by John Minsheu or Minshew (London, 1617)—it listed Hatton, though his copy seems now unknown. The extant collection as a whole at Christ Church, *a fortiori* the Hatton part of it, has no copy of *Poeticall Musicke*. Hume's attempts do imply that his bow was drawn somewhat at random in singling out Hatton, which in itself brings no firm conclusion. Hatton may have had no esteem for the quality of Hume's work, or liking for so shameless a dedication: he could even have become aware of the ruse by sharing notes with Arundel (an acquaintance of his brother-in law, Sir Henry Fanshawe). The other way round though, one can deduce that he was identifiable with a certain affluent level of noble, by then even royal company, publicly enough to make him stand out as a possible target. Hume clearly judged Hatton, Arundel and Pembroke good bets alike for their generosity in both senses of the word, breeding and open-handedness. Even by 1607 he could have picked up a hint of Hatton's prospects, a 'coming man' cutting a figure in the *beau monde*.⁵³ Queen Anne's first stay at Hatton's mansion, Kirby Hall, Northamptonshire, was from 9th August 1605. The king too is on record for similar visits: 30th May 1612 over four nights and again 29th July 1616 and 1619; one in 1614 was called off owing to an unexpected second state visit by his brother-in-law.⁵⁴ Entertainment of royalty on

⁵³ Stationers' Register has no entry for *Poeticall Musicke*, thus not ruling out a date January-March 1608 for it, on the basis of the title-page.

⁵⁴ John Nichols *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First* (J.B. Nicols; London, 1828) vols. 1-4, The court may have visited Kirby Hall again in summer 1624

progresses passing by Hatton estates reinforces likelihood that in the very period that the madrigals were brewing he was known to the Herbert brothers, whose status had come to the notice of Otto van Veen by 1608. Hatton almost certainly played the viol; at the very least it was cultivated in his home circle. From evidence however of playing sets in his library, nothing at present shows that he had or was ever to acquire an interest in lute music.

when Christopher Hatton III was an esquire, since Ludovic Stewart 2nd Duke of Lennox, a participant in the progress, died there 30th July.

The Leero Vvall in Seventeenth-Century England

POLLY SUSSEX

Introduction

There is a large body of seventeenth-century English music written for the so-called lyra viol. This is a diverse and charming repertoire that encompasses both easy popular music for the amateur and collections of difficult solo lessons, dances, and pieces with fanciful titles (eg, *the Pvnckes delight*) for the more advanced player.

Much of the literature about the lyra viol discusses the whole century as if it were one continuous repertoire of the same music, but this is not the case. Music is not shaped in a social vacuum and politics had much to do with the state of music in mid-seventeenth century Britain. Most of the early development of the lyra viol took place at court in London. As the members of the court, the aristocrats, patrons and musicians, saw the increasing chaos of English governance and the ultimately desperate state of the monarchy, they either took up arms themselves, or simply dispersed to their country seats to wait out the troubles. Although Charles I played the viol and loved the arts, he was in no position to foster anything in this disastrous period of Civil War. Undoubtedly, the fire of London in 1666, after the restoration of the monarchy, must have destroyed many instruments, important documents, and volumes of music.

As a result, the lyra viol repertoire is cut into two neat parts straddling the middle years of the century and favouring different sorts of lyra viol, as we shall see.

The first publication specifically mentioning a lyra viol is Robert Jones', *The Second Booke of Songs and Ayres*, of 1601. In the years following, nine more printed books of music that contained lyra viol music appeared, ending with Robert Tailour's, *Sacred Hymns*, of 1615.¹ Although there was no lyra viol music published for thirty-six years after 1615, manuscripts of music for lyra viol circulated freely and many still survive. John Playford's, *A Muscicall Banquet*, of 1651 and his subsequent *Musick's Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-Way*, and its reprints, brought lyra viol printed books back to the public. Unlike much of the earlier lyra viol music, this music was mostly short, sweet, and simple to play. The instrument remained popular until the latter years of the century. Its decline was inevitably linked to the decline of the viol in general and the rise of the violin family.²

¹ This work, which subscribers can view on *Early English Books Online* [EEBO], is a selection of psalms set in five parts, in addition to bass viol and lute parts, both in tablature. The tuning for the bass viol part is ffeff in D.

² This study is deliberately limited to published music. The reasons for this become clear later in the article.

What is a lyra viol and what size should it be? A labyrinth of contradictions.

From the outset, there is a confusion about the term 'lyra viol'. It refers to a scordatura form of playing the viol, nominally the bass viol, in various tunings, (at least 50 variants exist). The music is notated in French lute tablature on a six-line staff, one line for each string, to accommodate the multiple tunings. Confusion arises however when trying to find a suitable viol to play this music.

Modern writers have been at pains to point out that the term 'lyra viol' is not an instrument but a style of playing, (often called 'Leero Way' in the sources), borrowed from the style of the sixteenth-century lute. This viewpoint has been adamantly reiterated many times but it is only half the story. Looking at the pitch suggested by ensemble pieces which include staff notation (and therefore a fixed pitch reference) gives us clues to the pitch of the various lyra instruments used in specific works; they were not all the same size. This aspect of the lyra viol has not been adequately studied yet and I hope that the present article will contribute new ideas to the current view of this niche in viol-playing history.

The first publications for lyra viol. Early tunings.

The first of the seventeenth-century publications is not just for the solo instrument: Robert Jones' 1601 volume of songs:



The Second Booke of Songs and Ayres.....Set Out to the Lute, the base Violl / the playne way, or the Base by tablatyre after the leero fashion:

Figure 1.

There are two bass viol parts in this set of duo songs for soprano and bass voices. The lyra part is printed in tablature but Robert Jones gives no explanation of how the viol should be tuned ‘after the leero fashion’. We need to know that ‘leero fashion’ or ‘lyra way’, was the name of a particular tuning; the other name for this tuning was, ‘bandora sett’ and here is the signpost to the tuning.³

The bandora was a popular, metal-strung, plucked bass instrument in the late sixteenth-century and it was tuned in fourths with a third between second and third strings, not between third and fourth strings, as in normal viol tuning.⁴ ‘Bandora sett’ or ‘lyra way’ tuning on the viol means *d’,a,f,c,F,C*.

It is a good alternative tuning to use on a bass viol as it requires only one string to be tuned up a semitone (*e* to *f*); the lowest two strings are tuned down a tone. Only the *f* will be under more tension; the lowest two strings will both be slightly too slack but they will still work. In other words you don’t need to change instrument or even strings. With this tuning you can manage to make music on your normal set of strings without breaking anything. This tuning is found in many lyra pieces and would have been a good introduction for young players.

Jones’ second bass viol part is printed in staff notation as the bass voice part with the addition of text for the singer. It can be shared, or the part may be either sung or played. Jones’ designation of the non-lyra part as, ‘the base Violl the playne way’, refers to three aspects of the part; it is a single line (as opposed to chordal lyra style), it is written in staff notation, and the viol is tuned in normal viol tuning.

All this unspecified but important detail presupposes a musical élite whose members already knew the way the lyra viol worked. As we have no lyra viol manuscripts, or printed editions, known to date from the sixteenth-century, we have to assume that there was an established tradition applied to viols but borrowed from lute culture in its tablature notation and variable tunings. It probably grew from beginnings in the late sixteenth century.⁵

There is one more complication though. To play Robert Jones’ *Songs*, we need to tune each string of the lyra viol up a tone. This is only apparent when comparing the lyra chords with the fixed pitch vocal parts. At this new pitch, the lowest two strings will remain the same as ‘viol way’ tuning but the four upper strings must be a tone higher than normal ‘lyra way’ tuning. As a result, the top string is an *e*, the second is a *b*, and so on: immediately we have a problem for the modern lyra viol player. Our four top strings are at risk of breaking if we tune each up a whole tone. It is clear from the title page that both viols are basses and yet the tuning in bandora set, one tone higher, suggests a smaller instrument.

³ This tuning is referred to as *fehfh* in the literature.

⁴ This tuning is referred to as *ffeff* in the literature.

⁵ This statement is based on the evidence for the John Rose bass viols, both plain shape and festooned, later in this article.



Figure 2. Various tunings for Viol way, Lyra way, and the transpositions needed to play the music of R. Jones, J. Maynard and T. Hume

To find the matter clarified we need to look at the works of the next composer on our list, Tobias Hume. His *First Book of Ayres* was published four years later than Jones' *Second Booke*, in 1605.

Hume introduces another puzzle; not all the pieces in his *First Book* work on a bass viol tuned in D. The very first piece in the book, *The Souldiers song*, requires a tenor G tuning for the tablature accompaniment and so do others, without preamble or explanation. Hume does not, however, refer to a tenor anywhere; instead he uses the words 'set as the lute', referring to both the G pitch and the ffeff (normal viol) tuning. His bass tunings are sometimes bandora sett and sometimes normal ffeff tuning or ffeffh (normal tuning with a lowered bottom string). As Hume was a strong advocate of the viol as a substitute for the lute in accompanying songs, a G tuning, identical to that of the lute should not be a surprise.

'*Tobacco*', Hume's second song is for a bass tuned in D. Later in the volume, we find,

'A Lesson for the Leera Viole, with two treble Violes, or two Bases with one Treble, tuned as the Bandora'.

If the treble viols are to remain in a nominal D tuning (and there is no reason to assume otherwise), then the other two instruments will also be in D (with a low C for the Bandora set tuning). The trebles play chords only at the beginning and at the end but the part is nevertheless in tablature because they need to be tuned in bandora set. This explains his terminology. Normally he uses the term 'bass viol' to mean ffeff tuning and 'lyra viol' to mean bandora set tuning, so if you need a bass viol tuned in bandora set, it needs to be spelled out; it is actually functioning as a lyra viol.

Not until we look at Hume's Second Book, his *Poeticall Musick*, of 1607, do we find the anomaly of G and D tuning explained. Note that there is no mention of the lyra viol in this book, although most of it is notated in tablature. This is because the tuning throughout is ffeff.

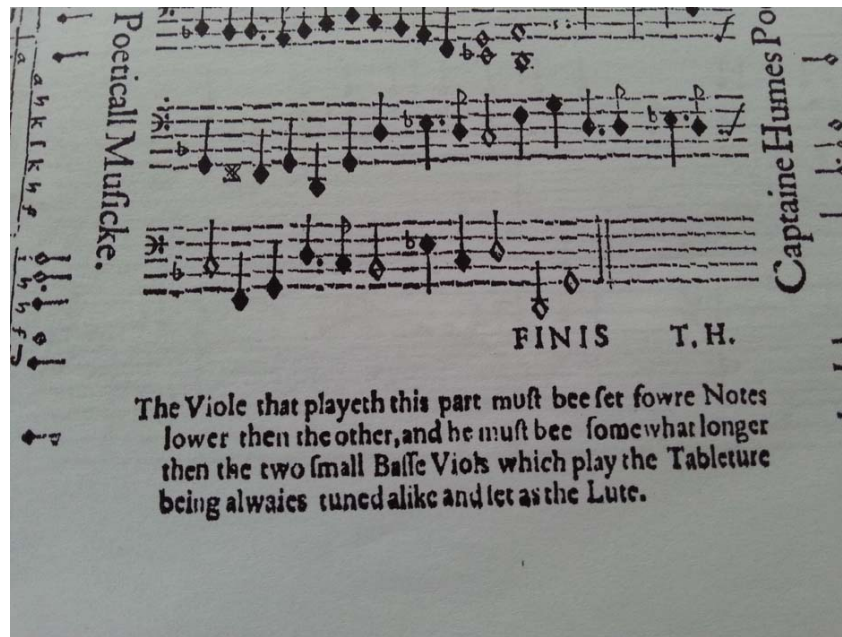


Figure 4

The Viole that playeth this part must bee set fowre Notes lower then the other, and he must bee somewhat longer then the two small Basse Viols which play the Tableture being alwaies tuned alike and set as the Lute.

The part in staff notation is for a normal bass viol in D tuning and the other two parts in tablature are for small basses tuned in G tenor tuning, exactly like the lute. So Hume played lyra viol both on a small bass tuned in G at the same pitch as a lute and on a larger bass tuned in D.

Hume makes one mistake in *What Greater Griefe*, a song reprinted from his first book, where it is a song with accompaniment for bass viol in D. Reprinted and enlarged as a piece for voice and three bass viols in his second book, he writes the tablature parts correctly for basses in D but notates the staff notation for the third part a fourth too high. Perhaps the song, with its melancholy mood, was included in a hurry, to draw attention to his plight, although the last line of the song lifts the mood from despair to hope.

On the title page, Hume sets out different combinations of instruments which can play his *Poeticall Musicke*. He suggests eight different ways, of which the second through to the sixth are of special note for us:

1. *The first way or musicke is for one Bass-Viole to play alone in parts, which standeth alwaies on the right side of this Booke.* [ie, the part works as a solo without the second part.]
2. *The second musicke is for two Basse-Viols to play together.*
3. *The third musicke, for three Basse-Viols to play together.*
4. *The fourth musicke, for two Tenor Viols and a Basse-Viole.*
5. *The fift musicke, for two Lutes and a Basse-Viole.*

6. *The sixt musicke, for two Orpherions and a Basse-Viole.*

7. *The seventh musicke, to use the voyce to some of these musicks, but especially to the three Basse-Viols, or to the Orpherions with one Basse-Viole to play the ground.*

8. *The eight and last musicke, is consorting all these Instruments together with the Virginals, or rather with a winde Instrument and the voice.*

Of special note is Hume's reference to *Tenor Viols* in his *fourth musicke* as a possible substitute for the (small) bass viols. The tuning of the tenor viol, the lute and the orpherion were the same, hence their interchangeability. This is sure proof that his Bass viols tuned in G are not the same as tenor viols.

The human side of the Hume story.

Hume's dedication of this volume and especially of the *Queenes New yeeres gift*' opening song, speak strongly of Queen Anne's patronage of the arts. In 1607, Queen Anne had been queen with her husband James I, for only four years. She was lavish in her artistic tastes, enjoying expensive masques but she was generous to musicians, as her Declared Accounts show. Hume was even bold enough to include a handwritten personal message opposite his characteristically obsequious printed dedication. Written in a florid hand, it says:⁶

'I doe in all humylitie beseech your Ma^{tie} (Majesty) that you would be pleased to heare this Musick by mee; having excellent Instruments to performe itt.'

Hume obviously knew the instruments in the royal collection. We find a reference to money paid to him in the 'Declared Accounts' of Queen Anne:

Tobias Hume a Scottish Musicon in reward from her Ma^{tie} according to her Highnes pleasure signified by Daniell Bachelor: 3 April 1606.⁷

A further curiosity concludes Hume's *Poeticall Musicke*. His *Hunting Song to be sung to the Bass-Viol* (but tuned to G as the vocal part reveals) is the last piece in the book and is rather singular and rarely performed. It is the story of a hunt narrated by the singer and interspersed with repeated horn calls from the viol and chordal passages as brief interludes. Under the last line of music is printed:

'Here endeth the hunting Song, which was sung before two Kings, to the admiring of all brave Huntsmen.'

In this personal touch, Hume is alluding to the visit of Queen Anne's brother, King Christian of Denmark, to the English Court in 1606.⁸ The Danish king

⁶ This message appears only in the copy in the British Library.

⁷ I was unable to discover the amount that Hume was paid but I thank Andrew Ashbee for suggesting that the payment could have been for the 1605 *First Part of Ayres*.

⁸ J.G. Nichols, *Autographs of Royal, Noble, Learned and Remarkable Personages Conspicuous in English History from the Reign of Richard the Second to that of Charles the Second; with some Illustrious Foreigners; containing many passages from important letters*. (London, 1829), no page number, chapter heading, 'Family Connections and Contemporaries of James I'. Consulted online. Clearly the visit was a great success and led to another in 1614.

arrived on 17th July and left in the middle of August, so obviously the publication of Hume's *Poeticall Musicke* postdated his performance at court.⁹ The two kings enjoyed hunting together and, with his successful performance of the song for both James I and Christian IV and its subsequent printing, Hume must have hoped for royal favour.

In 1604, James I had published his '*A Counterblaste to Tobacco*', describing it, well before his time, as 'loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs, etc.'¹⁰ The following year, in 1605, Hume published his 'The First Part of Ayres', including his panegyric, 'Tobacco, Tobacco, sing sweetly of Tobacco'. As this would not have met with royal favour, perhaps he did not know of the King's views.

At any rate, it appears that Hume was trying to break into the royal circle of composer/viol players, probably through the Queen. He was ultimately unsuccessful but he tried hard with his pieces about the Queen's brother. 'The King of Denmarkes delight', follows his 'New Yeeres gifte' song and 'The King of Denmarkes Health', is the penultimate piece, coming just before the 'Hunting Song'. His efforts did not go unrewarded though. In the following year, 1607, presumably on the presentation of Hume's *Poeticall Musicke* to her Majesty, a further entry in the Queen's accounts mentions the hapless Hume. This time he earned 100 shillings: y¹¹

'Tobias Hume a Musicōn that dedicated a booke unto her Maiestie in reward from her highnes for the same according to her highnes comandment and pleasure [warrant, 6 June 1607] 100s.'

This level of royal interest created an environment in which the lyra viol could flourish. In fact it appears that the Queen herself might even have played the lyra. Here is an entry from her Declared Accounts: ¹²

'Laid [paid] oute for her ma^{ty} the 20th of June 1608 for a bowe of her ma^{ties} Lyra and for mending the said Lyra and oth^r neccies [necessities] in that Bill menconed: 72s. 0d.'

In November of the same year,

'Laid oute for her ma^{ty} the 10th of No: 1608 for twoe bookes in folio ruled for the Lira and the Violl, and for oth^r Books, and mending of Instrum^{ts} in that bill p[ar]ticularly mencōned: £4. 12s. 0d.'¹³

⁹ There is a fine description of the revels at court during the visit in R. Chambers, *The Book of Days, a Miscellany of Popular Antiquities/ in Connection with the Calendar/Including /Anecdote, Biography and History/Curiosities of Literature/and Oddities of Human Life and Character*. (London and Edinburgh, volume 2, 1832), 80. Both kings enjoyed hunting, tilting and drunken parties.

¹⁰ I. Crofton, *The Kings and Queens of England*, (London, 2011), 159.

¹¹ The king and queen lived separately after 1607, the queen becoming an enthusiastic supporter of musicians and the arts in general and these separate accounts record payments on her behalf.

¹² Declared accounts of Queen Anne, *Records of English Court Music*, transcribed by A. Ashbee. (1986-1996): RECM IV, 198.

¹³ RECM IV, 200.

We know that both of the queen's sons, Prince Henry and Prince Charles (later Charles I) played the viol. Back in 1604, an entry in the Treasurer of the Chamber accounts reads:

‘To Alphonso Ferrabosco upponn Councillis warrant (dated 27 November 1604 at Whitehall) to be by him bestowed and laid owt in buying two vialls with cases, and one boxe of stringes, for the use and service of the prince: £20. 0s. 0d.’¹⁴

As Prince Charles was four at the time, the two viols must have been for Prince Henry, aged ten. ‘Service of the prince’ suggests that the second viol was for Ferrabosco to use in teaching him.

The royal music tutors were of the highest calibre, notably John Coprario and Alfonso Ferrabosco the younger, Thomas Lupo and Thomas Ford.

More published Music and more tunings.

In 1607, the year of Hume's *Poeticall Musicke*, Thomas Ford published his

Musicke of Sundrie Kindes, Set forth in two Bookes.

The First Whereof are, Aries for 4 Voices to the Lute, Orphorion,¹⁵ or Basse-Viol, with a Dialogue for two Voices, and two Basse Viols in parts, tuned the Lute way

*The Second are Pavens, Galiards, Almainses, Toies, Jigges, Thumpes and suchlike, for two Basse-Viols, the Lieraway, so made as the greatest number may serve to play alone, very easie to be performed.*¹⁶

In book 1, the lute and orpharion are interchangeable, as they were in Hume's *Poeticall Musicke*, reading tablature under the treble vocal line. The bass viol plays the bass vocal line. The ‘Dialogue’, however, for *two Basse Viols in parts*, is for two lyras both tuned in G with lute (ffeff) tuning.

The *Second* part consists entirely of duos in tablature using bandora set tuning (fefhf), and the same terminology as Hume does; ‘liera way’ signifies a tuning other than ‘lute way’ which is standard ffeff. In addition, Ford states, as Hume did, that the duos may be performed alone, although he does not say which part to play. It is clearly the *Prima Pars*, which is on the left. (The *Secunda Pars* is upside down in table book format). This sort of multi-purpose music score was useful for marketing.

Robert Jones and Hume do seem to agree that a bass viol, tuned lyra way, is smaller than a standard bass but larger than a tenor. In playing the music of these two composers, we can use a small bass viol with the particular tuning required and be fairly sure that we are following what the early Jacobean did.

Next we leap two years to the publication in 1609 of Alfonso Ferrabosco the younger's *Lessons for 1.2. and 3. Viols*. This is a very simple title after the excessively long ones of the previous publications and it is the first publication for lyra viols (the word lyra is not even mentioned on the title page), without voice or lute. This emancipation of the lyra viol from its role as an

¹⁴ RECM IV, 76.

¹⁵ see later in this article for details of the orpharion.

¹⁶ Facsimile reprint by *Performers' Facsimiles*, (New York, 1998).

accompaniment to song is significant. Here, probably, is some of the teaching material used for the young princes. Each Suite of Dances is headed *Lessons for the Lyra Violl* and the tuning at the top of a piece is given at the beginning and then only where the tuning changes.

Three tunings are used for the solos; two for the duos and two for the trios: they are lyra way (fefhf) and two new ones, Alfonso way (ffhfh) and eights (fhfhf). These last two are remarkable because they combine only fourths and fifths, meaning that there is a span of two octaves and a fourth between top and bottom strings instead of the two octaves and one tone with lyra way. This may not seem very much larger but it does mean that the lowest two strings are very thick gut if you take the top string as being *d*'. The lowest one is now an *A*'. We will look at this later when addressing the stringing of viols and their pitch.

If the bass viol is strung with a top *d*', Alfonso way tuning,¹⁷ is *d',a,e,A,E,A'*'. With three A's and two E's, this is a wonderful tuning for keys whose tonic and dominant triads contain A or E.¹⁸ Eights tuning, similarly, has three A's but instead of E's it has three D's: *d',a,d,A,D,A'*'.

As these pieces have no fixed pitch reference instrument with them, one could take the view that *A'* is too thick a string for the length and choose instead a pitch a minor third higher, thus keeping the lowest string to C. This would match the common tuning ffeh, the close-to-normal viol tuning with low *D* slackened to become C. This tuning would give an overall Alfonso way tuning of *f',c',g,c,G,C*.¹⁹ Perhaps for those who did not have large instruments, this was an option,²⁰ but for those in the royal circle, there is proof that they had the lower tuning in mind and also a larger bass viol.

Firstly, between 1609 and 1623, the 'lyra' and the 'viol' seem to have become separable instruments, not just different tunings.²¹

'To Alphonso Ferrabosco one of his Ma^{ty} Musicons [5-12-1623] for a new Lyra
and vyoll de Gambo by him bought £20. 0s. 0d.'

References also start to mention larger viols and these must be the ones used for Alfonso way and eights tunings. In the Treasurer of the Chamber documents, we find the following:²²

¹⁷ Writing in c 1659, Sir Peter Leycester remarked: 'As for that Instrument much in request for Gentlemen to practise, w^{ch}. we call a Basse=Viole, It hath not wanted many & Excellent Artists: amonge whom I shall name Alfonso Ferrabosco who beinge an Italian by birth had his abode much in England: In memory of whom we yet retayne a severall way of tuninge for this Viole by him invented, & call it by the name of Alfonso Way:' Quoted in R. Kelly, 'The Lyra Viol Music of Simon Ives'. Ph. D thesis, University of Sydney, 1994, 45.

¹⁸ The whole point of lyra viol is to enhance resonance and the tunings are chosen for the keys they favour. This is a sophisticated discussion for another article.

¹⁹ The high *f* is used in the works of John Maynard see below but not for Alfonso way tuning.

²⁰ at the time of writing Nicholas Milne has recently uploaded a video of himself playing the *Punckes Delight* in G tuning at A=415 on a smallish lyra with eight sympathetic strings.

²¹ RECM IV, 114..

²² RECM III, 134.

‘To Jeremy Lanneer, by warraunte dated 24-1-1624/5, for a greate base Vvall:
£20. 0s. 0d’

and two years later:²³

‘To Alphonso Ferraboscoe, one other of his Ma^{ts} Musicons, by warr^t dated 17-
2-1626/7 For a greate Base Vvall, and greate Lyra to bee by him provided for
his Ma^{ts} service: £20. 0s. 0d.’

These are two distinct instruments; the ‘greate Base Vvall’ and the ‘greate Lyra’.

There is also the ‘greate dooble base’ for which Orlando Gibbons wrote parts in some of his three and four-part Fantasias.²⁴ The tessitura of the part is exactly that of the lyra in Alfonso way or eights tuning. Both have A’ as the lowest note.²⁵ Is the ‘greate Base Vvall’ synonymous with the ‘greate dooble base’? If the tessitura matches, perhaps it is.

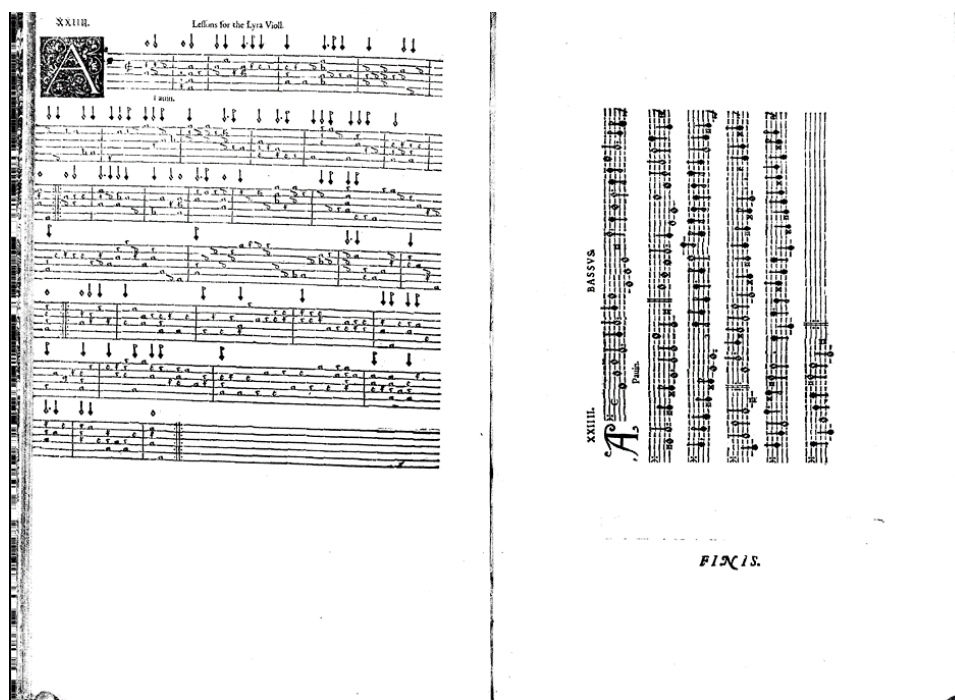


FIGURE 5. John Maynard: Pavan for lyra viol with bass accompaniment.

To find a fixed pitch reference that endorses this low interpretation of the tuning, we need to consult John Maynard’s,

The XII Wonders of the World. Set and composed for the Violl de Gambo, the Lute, and the Voyce to Sing the Verse, all three jointly, and none severall: also Lessons for the Lute

²³ *RECM* III, 138

²⁴ Published in modern edition by Northwood Music, (Illinois, 2002).

²⁵ Those who play the violone are usually keen to equate this viol with the instrument tuned either an octave or a seventh below the tenor viol. The term ‘double’ instantly creates associations of meaning with the modern terminology, double bass.

and Base Violl to play alone: with some Lessons to play Lyra-wayes alone, or if you will, to fill up the parts with another Violl set Lute-way.

The last part of this long title refers to the third part of the book; seven *Pavins* scored for lyra viol and accompanying bass viol. Four are in bandora set and three in Alfonso way. They each have a bass line for a second viol in normal tuning, written in staff notation and this makes it clear that the tuning in Alfonso way must have a low *A*, not *C*.

A glance at the second part of the volume, the *Lessons for Lute and Base Violl*, reveals a further scordatura tuning for some of the pieces. The seven-course lute is tuned with the two lowest strings tuned to *F* and *C*. The bass viol player is advised,

'You must set your Base Violl a note below your Lute, to play this Pavin, because of his compasse: and it fits the Keye best, because of annoying Flats and Sharps in your Base: so likewise the Galliard following.'

When both lute and bass viol are correctly tuned, the sounding effect is *F* minor and the "annoying flats and sharps", (which would have been four flats) are easily playable in the notated *d* minor. Note that this is the bass viol, not the lyra viol. Tuning the bass viol up by a minor third to a 'note below your Lute', would certainly involve changing bass viol strings as well as using the small bass that will be required.

'Alfonso way' and 'eights' tunings are found in both published and manuscript sources. They were used by many composers; Coperario, Jenkins, Shirley, Corkine, Sumarte, T. Gregory, W. Lawes, and others. There must have been more 'greate lyras' than we know about. In 1676, Thomas Mace refers back to these.²⁶ He recommends that a gentleman should have a chest of six viols, in addition, two violins,

'a Pair of Lusty Full-Sciz'd Theorboes, and 3 Full-sciz'd Lyro-Viols; there being most Admirable Things made, by our Very Best Masters, for That Sort of Musick, both Consort-wise [ie, with other instruments] and Peculiarly for 2 and 3 Lyroes.'

This is the only reference to 'Full-sciz'd Lyro-Viols' and his reference to the works for three 'Lyroes' connects them with the works of Coperario, Ferrabosco, and Lawes, all of whom wrote for three lyras in Alfonso way and eights (as well as in bandora set).²⁷

It seems likely that the two Princes would have played the 'greate lyra' since their tutors were writing for it. The trios were probably for the tutor to play with his two royal pupils. When Prince Henry died, aged 18, in 1612, someone, as yet, unidentified, wrote a piece in 'eights' entitled 'Prince Henrys Funerall'.²⁸

William Corkine, a composer about whom we know very little, deserves a special mention for making a speciality of virtuosic variations on tunes,

²⁶ T. Mace, *Musick's Monument*. (London, 1676) in facsimile, (Paris, 1958), 246.

²⁷ see M. Bishop, *Tab for Three*. (Atlanta, 1980).

²⁸ <https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/21198/n1s318/?order=67>

combining lyra and division viol techniques.²⁹ In both of his two books of *Ayres*, published in 1610 and 1612 respectively,³⁰ the first part, as we have found elsewhere, is for voice, lute and bass viol and the second part is for lyra viol. All his lyra viol pieces use Alfonso way or eights tuning and this begs the question, “at what pitch?” I would argue for the lowest string to be *A*’ as the evidence speaks for that pitch. This means a large instrument and a really good technique to play fast passages on a long string.

More confusion; the instrument and its strings.

In recent years, there has been a flurry of interest in the lyra viol with sympathetic metal strings. There is plenty of evidence both in England and in Europe to show that these were used in the early years of the seventeenth century.³¹ In 1627, Francis Bacon summed it up thus:

‘It was devised that a *Violl* should have a Lay of Wire Strings-below, as close to the Belly as a *Lute*: And then the *Strings* of Guts mounted upon a Bridge, as in Ordinary *Vialls*: to the End, that by this means, the upper *Strings* stricken, should make the lower resound by *Sympathy*, and so make the *Musick* the better; Which, if it be to purpose, then *Sympathy* worketh as well by Report of *Sound*, as by *Motion*. But this device I conceive to be of no use, because the upper *Strings*, which are stopped in great variety, cannot maintain a *Diapason* or *Unison*, with the Lower, which are never stopped.’³²

Undoubtedly, there was a desire to increase the resonance of the lyra viol and various ways to do so were tried. Perhaps the thick gut low strings were the problem. In March of the year 1608-1609 (remembering that the New Year started at the end of March in the early seventeenth-century), King James issued a

‘Privilege to Peter Edney, his Majesty’s servant, and George Gill, servant to the Prince [that is Prince Henry, older brother of Prince Charles], for ten years for the sole making of violls, violins and lutes, with an addicon of wyer stringes beside the ordenary stringes for the bettering of the sound, being an invencon of theirs not formerly practised or knowne.’ (‘stayed’ is added in the margin).³³

The word ‘stayed’ in the margin suggests that the privilege was not allowed to go ahead; in this case they probably experimented anyway. Much later in the century, Playford, in the preface to his 1661 edition of *Musick’s Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-way*, refers to sympathetic strings thus: ‘Of this sort of Viols, I have seen many, but *Time* and *Disuse* has set them aside.’

²⁹ See G. Nelson, ‘the Lyra-Viol Variation sets of William Corkine’, in *Cheyls, the Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society*, volume 17, 1988, 17.

³⁰ *Ayres to Sing and play to the Lute and Basse Violl / with Pavins, Galliards, Almainses, and Corantos for the Lyra Violl*. (London, 1610). *The Second Book of Ayres, Some, to And and Play to the Basse-Violl alone: Others, to be sung to the Lute and Basse Violl, With new Corantoes, Pavins, Almainses, as also divers new Descants upon old Grounds, set to the Lyra-Violl*. (London, 1612).

³¹ Praetorius writing in c 1618 mentions this, as does Mersenne in 1635. (see P. Holman footnote 32 below).

³² F. Bacon, *Sylva sylvarum*, (London 1627). Cited in P. Holman, “An Addicion of Wyer Stringes beside the Ordenary Stringes”: the Origin of the Baryton’. *Companion to contemporary musical thought*, ed., J. Paynter, Volume II (London, 1992), 1099.

³³ *RECM* IV, 22-23.

So for the repertoire from the second half of the century, a lyra with sympathetic strings is an anachronism. I believe that the resonance produced by the new tunings of Alfonso way and eights were, and still are, more effective in creating resonance than using sympathetic metal strings. The harpway tunings which became common (see below) are based on enhanced resonance for a particular key.

One more experiment deserves mention. Writing in 1635, Mersenne remarks:³⁴

The art of playing viols together can be enhanced by many endeavours: for example... if they be fitted with a double set of strings, so that any free string may have another, sympathetic string at the octave either above or below; or again, if the bridge be made somewhat lower so that the bow may strike six or more strings at the same time; [he must mean the lirone]; if strings be made of brass or another metal and be brought to the same tuning with the [other] strings, so that they may sweetly resound, without being struck, by the impulse of the strings which are in unison with them. (the viol with sympathetic strings).

Mersenne's allusion to a 'double set of strings' is odd until we refer to Tobias Hume. In his *First Part of Ayres*, addressing himself to the Reader, Hume writes the following.

'If you will heare the Viol de Gambo in his true majestie, to play parts, and singing thereto, then string him with nine stringes, your three Basses double as the Lute, which is to be plaide on with as much ease as your Violl of sixe stringes.'

The lute normally has doubled strings except for the top string and in the basses; here, where a viol needs added strength, Hume suggests two strings on the bridge. He does not specify the pitch and practices varied anyway, amongst lute players. Two strings of the same pitch (ie. thickness) in the bass register of the viol would be a problem, as the strings are fairly thick and will vibrate against each other. One at the upper octave (in imitation of the middle stringing of some lutes) and one at the main pitch would be a better solution. Adding three strings at the octave above will undoubtedly give a more resonant sound, prolonging the chords and adding richness overall.³⁵ Here perhaps we see the beginnings of the search for a better sound quality especially from the thicker, low gut strings on the bass. This may have been the reason for the stayed privilege, granting Edney and Gill permission to try sympathetic strings on bowed instruments, as well as lutes. Perhaps Hume demonstrated to the Queen that nine strings were effective enough and Edney and Gill lost their Privilege.

Mersenne had suggested that the whole instrument was double-strung and perhaps this was an experiment which did not go beyond that stage. What Hume suggests is eminently practical and has not yet been adopted by makers

³⁴ *Harmonicorum Instrumentorum*, (Paris, 1635), quoted in P. Holman, *op.cit.* 1099.

³⁵ Michael Fleming refers to this briefly in *Early English Viols, Instruments, Makers and Music*, (Oxon, 2016). 289.

or players of lyras.³⁶ This makes the stringing of a normal viol as follows: d', a, e, c', c, g, G, d, D.

No viols survive in either this configuration or the sympathetic metal-strung configuration.³⁷

Pitch and string length.

A fact often ignored in the literature about stringed instruments is that the size of the instrument is determined by the length of the top string. The body must be in proportion to the vibrating string length but the governing factor is that top string. This is purely for practical reasons; the highest string is the thinnest and hence the most vulnerable, so it needs to be favoured. The principles of both plucked and bowed instruments are identical here. As Thomas Robinson observed in his *Schoole of Musicke*,

... now you shall learn to tune your Lute, and for a generall rule, first set up the Treble, so high as you dare venter (venture) for breaking.....³⁸

On any stringed instrument with strings of equal length, all strings below the top one are compromised in being thicker than is desirable for the pitch.

As with the lutes, so the viols, and the metal-strung plucked family of the cittern (treble member), the orpharion, (tenor), and the bandora, which was the bass member of this family. Invented in the sixteenth century, these all had same length strings until some ingenious maker had a better idea. It was probably John Rose, the inventor of the bandora, who solved the problem of string length and pitch with the invention of fanned frets and a diagonal bridge and nut to produce different vibrating string lengths. There are no surviving examples of the bandora but we can safely assume that this modified design of the orpharion was replicated in the contemporary bandora.³⁹

³⁶ Michael Fleming tried this in c 1995, as mentioned in *Early English Viols*. He used unison strings but Hume would have meant to use the octave higher option, as is common with early seventeenth-century lutes.

³⁷ On 19th July 2014, Thomas McCracken, the American musicologist and compiler of the online Database of Historic Viols on the American Viola da Gamba website, wrote in an email to me: 'As for viols with sympathetic strings, there are a fair number of surviving basses that show evidence of having been so equipped at some time, but in nearly every case I have my doubts that this was an original feature. Rather, the extra strings were probably added in the 19th century, to produce an instrument that could serve as a kindred bass to the viola d'amore, which never really died out though it has always been somewhat exotic and peripheral.'

³⁸ Of 1603, *EEBO*, page 6. The same advice appears in other contemporary treatises.

³⁹ Information about the orpharion and bandora is from <https://earlymusicmuse.com/bandora-orpharion/>



Figure 6. Orpharion, 1617 by Francis Palmer (in the Musikmuseet, Musikhistorisk Museum & Carl Claudius' Samling, Copenhagen, Denmark).

The result would have been an enhanced sound quality from the bass strings. A diagonal bridge and fanned frets would be hard enough to manage on a plucked instrument and it would not be workable on a bowed instrument, so we can discount the idea of its being used on the viol. What is clear though, is that the English musical instrument makers had a sophisticated appreciation of the compromises inherent in a fixed-length vibrating string at different pitches. Metal strings were more of a problem than gut ones.⁴⁰ As we have seen, the early seventeenth-century makers and players wanted to improve the sound quality of not only the bandora family but also viols, violins, and lutes. These latter improvements focused, not on the design of the instrument, but on the strings themselves.

In the calculations that follow, the pitch reference is $A=440$. English consort organs of the period, 1630-1680, with which viols commonly played, vary in pitch from $A=440$ to as high as $A=485$ by the 1680's. Our common modern acceptance of a pitch reference of $A=415$ for all Baroque music is too general

⁴⁰ At higher pitch, shorter length, and thinner gauge, the iron was prone to breaking. See footnote 39.

and needs to be modified. Clearly, viols played alone, could have been at whatever pitch was comfortable for the instrument(s) and the lyra viol played as a solo instrument comes into this category. Viols playing with an organ however would have needed to conform to the pitch of the organ.⁴¹ Thus, one may conclude that various pitch references were used depending on the social context in which the music was being made.

Returning to bass viols, Gamut strings provides useful figures defining the parameters for maximum vibrating lengths in gut strings for given pitches.⁴² For top *d*, it is 76 cms, which would require a large hand to play any chords or fast passages. A tolerance of about nine centimetres between the shortest top *d* that will work well at around 67cms vsl and the longest at 76 cms vsl illustrates the parallel sizes of instrument that can still be called ‘bass’ between the two extremes. At the shorter end of the string length, you must compensate with a thicker string, bearing in mind that ‘short, thick strings have a tonal quality that tends to be robust and a little coarse.’ In contrast, ‘long, thin strings have a certain tonal quality that tends to be reedy.’⁴³

The best results come from a length in the middle of the two extremes.

This, to our modern minds, accustomed to thinking in fixed sizes of treble, tenor, and bass, seems too flexible. Historic instruments, however come in all sorts of sizes and smaller instruments were used by those with small hands, as suggested by Thomas Mace. At the beginning of Chapter 6 of his advice ‘Concerning the Viol’:⁴⁴

‘First, make Choice of a Viol fit for your Hand; yet rather of a Scize something too Big, than (at all) too little, especially if you be Young, and Growing.’

Another factor which we often forget is the placement of the bridge, which is often too high, imitating the placement of a violin family bridge, central between top and bottom of the f holes. Mace even mentions this as being a problem in his day:

‘...the Best Place for the Bridge, is to stand just in the 3 Quarter Dividing of the Open Cuts Below; though Most, most Erroniously suffer them much to stand too High, which is a Fault.’⁴⁵

Viol bridges in paintings are usually further down and, in extreme cases, are placed well below the bottom of the c holes.⁴⁶ In old instruments, we often see that the bridge position has been shifted and scars on the belly show where it

⁴¹ See the interesting new research at <https://consortorgans.info/what-is-a-consort-organ/>

⁴² This is also a typical cello string length, making the transition from cello to bass viol an easy one for many cellists.

⁴³ Both quotes are taken from <https://www.gamutmusic.com/gut-strings-lengths-1>

⁴⁴ Mace, *op.cit.* 247.

⁴⁵ Mace, *op.cit.* 246.

⁴⁶ We need to remember too, that the bridge can be moved deliberately with a view to altering the string length. This might be to accommodate a large or small left hand. For an illustration of the bridge below the ends of the sound holes, see Martin Peerson’s, *Private Musick*, of 1620, on EEBO. This woodcut is also reproduced in *Early English Viols*.

has been. Talking about vibrating string length is useful but there is an element of imprecision with using it.

The lyra viol body shape

In the argument above, we have seen the lyra referred to as a different instrument from the ordinary (usually bass) viol.

The Bandora was invented in the early 1560's by the elder John Rose. It took its name from an old European instrument variously called *Mandora* in Italian, *Pandura* in Neapolitan dialect, *Bandolon* in Spanish and *Pandore* in Old English. In the much older Greek myth, Pandora, the first woman, was created by Zeus, out of earth.

The tenor member of this family of metal, plucked instruments is the Orpharion, probably also invented by John Rose; the first instrument labelled with his name, dates from 1580. It could have been made by either John Rose the father or the son. What is certain is that the name links the Greek hero Orpheus and the Greek poet Arion; Orpharion. The scalloped edge and shell-shape of the orpharion is a direct reference to the birth of Venus from such a shell. Both the name and the body shape have symbolic meanings beyond their visual elegance.

Knowing that this sort of symbol and thinking was behind the plucked family of the orpharion, and knowing that John Rose made both these and viols, we should look carefully at the latter, especially with reference to the name lyra.

It is generally acknowledged that lyra is from the Greek word lyre, meaning that small harp played by Apollo and associated with him in mythology. The original shape of the lyre was fairly rectangular with only slight ogee curves towards the top on both sides (Fig. 7).

Figure 7. Roman copy of Greek statue of Apollo. Early Christian era, from Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome.



In time, these ogee curves became exaggerated by generations of artists. By the mid-sixteenth century, the lyre had become a very sensuous shape (Fig. 8).



Figure 8.

Contest between Apollo and Marsyas. *c* 1543. Anonymous, French, School of Fontainebleau, 16th century French. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Looking at the famous festooned bass viol probably by John Rose, in the Ashmolean Museum, we see clearly the lyre shape in the lower two thirds of the instrument. The flame holes, always associated with the surviving English festooned viols are, of course, the flames of Apollo, sun god and player of the lyre.

A logical conclusion is that the festooned viol developed as a somewhat quirky variant of the early seventeenth-century English lyra viol. This manifestation of the etymology of the work lyre is entirely in keeping with the use of symbols in late Elizabethan painting and poetry.⁴⁷ It is quite likely that the lyra viol belonging to Queen Anne in 1608 was one of this type.

⁴⁷ To take one example, the portrait of Queen Elizabeth I holding a sieve, was a representation of her virginity; this symbol was derived from the myth of the Roman vestal virgin Tuccia, who carried water in a sieve. In literature, the work of the metaphysical poets is full of conceits, those extended metaphors used to explore a philosophical idea.

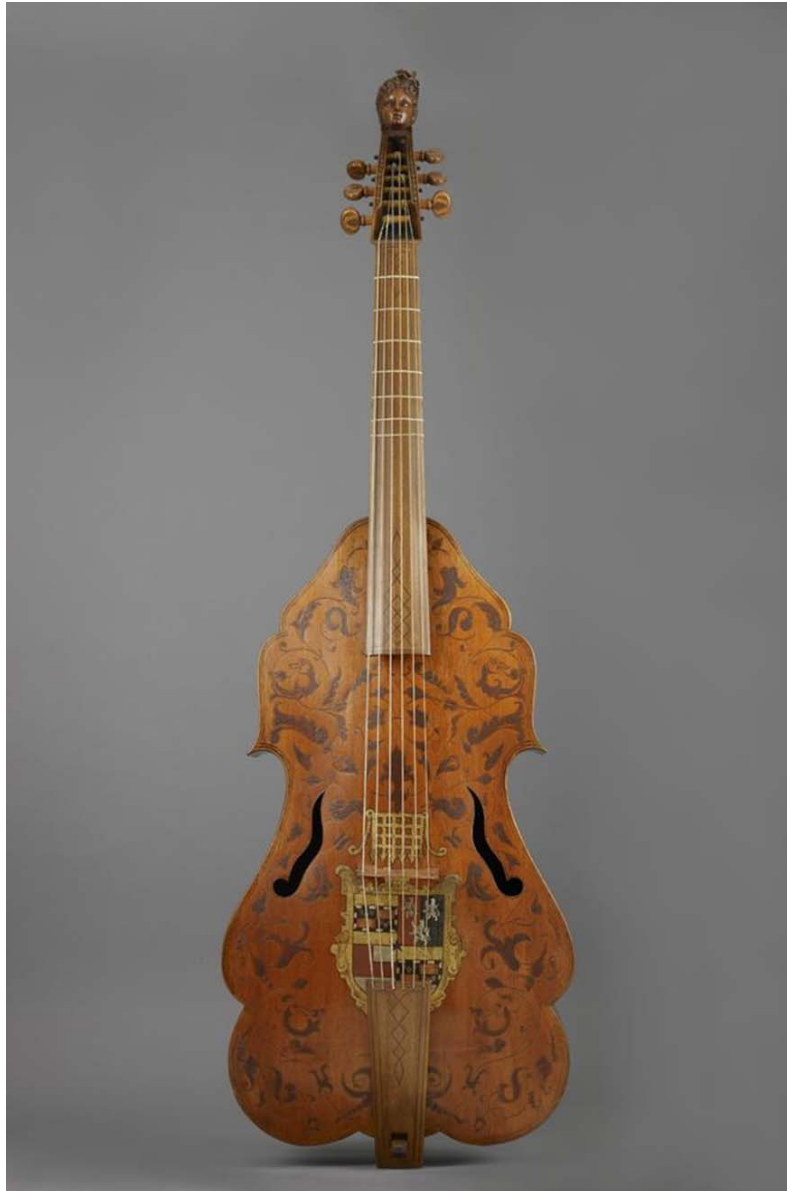


Figure 9. Festooned bass viol, by John Rose, c 1600. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Very few of the festooned English instruments survive. Of those surviving, one is a treble, made in 1590, and four are basses.⁴⁸ All of the latter were made between c1600 and c.1627.⁴⁹ There are no earlier examples and all later ones were made in Europe.

Festooned instruments survive in at least three sizes.⁵⁰ The one in the Ashmolean Museum with a body length of 70.6 cms and a vibrating string

⁴⁸ I have omitted a fifth, in the collection of the Royal Manchester College of Music; although labelled Jaye on the inside of one of the ribs, it is of doubtful provenance. The underside of the belly of this instrument appeared on the front cover of *the Viol*, 2017-18, no. 49.

⁴⁹ Information from the Online Database of Historic Viols, on the website of the Viola da Gamba Society of America. <https://vdgsa.org/pgs/viols/viols.html> The latest date for any of these viols is the date 1627 inside the Jaye(?) instrument in Berlin. It must postdate 1621 according to the dendochronological evidence but the 1627 label may be from another viol.

length of 74cms is long enough to be tuned to Alfonso way and eights at A=440 pitch. Its closest relative, the bass at Oberlin in the USA, is only slightly smaller in body length; likewise, it was probably made by John Rose. One of the Henry Jaye festooned basses, from c.1627, has a shorter body length of 65.4 cms. It has a vsl of 62.5 cms, which would be small enough to take a top G as we find in Hume. The second bass by Jaye (1610), closer to the Rose basses in dimension, has the longer body of 70cms and a vsl of 68-69 cms. This range of body lengths and vsls is in keeping with the range of lyra basses discussed earlier.

All of the sound holes in these festooned English basses are flame shape.

Perhaps too, the connection between Apollo and the festooned lyra viol shape can be read in the light of David Pinto's suggestion made more than ten years ago, that the head on another (plain shape) Jaye viol, depicting an anguished male, wearing a head-dress of leaves, is that of the antagonist in the Apollo story, Marsyas. This satyr was flayed for his attempt to better Apollo in a music contest. (See figure 8). What could be more complimentary than for Henry Jaye to make a pair of viols? On the one hand, a festooned lyra viol with the flames of Apollo for sound holes and on the other, a plain viol with the head of Marsyas.⁵¹

Whether sympathetic strings were an original feature of any of these festooned viols, is a matter yet to be thoroughly researched.

The second half of the seventeenth century.

After the lack of lyra viol publishing in the period 1615-1651, it must have been a relief for lyra viol players to buy J. Playford's, *A Musicall Banquet* (a title copied from John Dowland) in 1651. The five reprints of this volume were all called, *Musick's Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-Way, or Musick's Recreation: on the Lyra Viol*. Each reprint (the last was in 1682) contained new pieces as well as some old ones. The music is a mixture of old dances, popular tunes and ayres from various composers. Playford's print on the front of his *Musick's Recreation*, depicts a normal simple shaped viol.

⁵⁰ All of these instruments are listed on the Online Database of Historic Viols, see footnote 48. <https://vdgsa.org/pgs/viols/viols.html> For information and critical appraisal, I am grateful to Thomas McCracken, who compiled this magnificent and unique resource.

They are of varying sizes, the basses varying from 62.5 cms vibrating string length to 74cms.

⁵¹ This Jaye viol of 1619, is one from the Kessler collection. The head is illustrated in *the Viol, Winter 2007-8, no. 9, 29*.



Figure 10. John Playford's *Music's Recreation: on the Lyra Viol*.

Much of the material was not new but the tunings were. Lyra way is still there in the 1651 and 1655 editions but after that it disappears altogether. Gone are the old Alfonso way and eights tunings and they are replaced by the harpway tunings, and after 1655 the high harpway sharp and high harpway flat tunings.⁵²

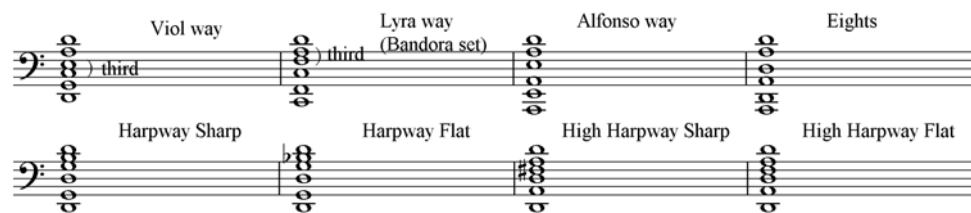


Figure 11. Lyra viol tunings compared in pitch.

The reason for this is obvious; these harpway tunings are neatly contained within the two octave span of the standard viol tuning. They are easy to manage on a small bass and they work well, producing the open resonance of the key they are tuned to. Harpway sharp open strings make a chord of G major; Harpway flat, G minor. High harpway sharp open strings give a chord of D major and High harpway flat, D minor. Now there is no need for a large lyra viol to accommodate low A'. Playford spells out the types of basses for us in his *'Introduction to the Skill of Music'* (1654):

‘There are three sorts of Bass-Viols, as there are three manners of ways in playing.

First, A Bass-Viol for Consort must be one of the largest size, and the strings proportionable.

Secondly, a Bass-Viol for Divisions must be of a less size, and the strings according.

Thirdly, a Bass-Viol to play Lyra-way, that is by Tableture, must be somewhat less than the two former, and strung proportionably.⁵³

⁵² In the 1682 edition, Playford reverted to using only harpway sharp and harpway flat. This information is contained in G.L Pullen's dissertation, 'Five Collections of Lyra Viol Music published by John Playford.' (Universtiy of British Columbia, 1979.

⁵³ J. Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Music*, (London, 1654), 101.

As Playford was not a musician he was not inclined to give extra information and relied on musicians to advise him.⁵⁴ Here we have an unequivocal statement, at last, that the lyra viol is a small bass, at least in the second half of the century. As we saw above, Thomas Mace preferred the large lyra but this opinion, as late as 1676, was very conservative.

The small-bass lyra size is also given by Sir Peter Leycester, whose manuscript, *A Booke of Lessons for the Lyro-Viole*, was compiled between c1640-1659:⁵⁵

Let your Lyro-Viole not be of ye largest size of Basse-Violes: & let it be small stringed, so it will stand higher & goe more sweetly.⁷

He makes it clear in the earlier part of his book, that a lyra viol can be distinguished from other bass or tenor viols⁵⁶:

Concerning the Chest of Violes now in my custody: 1659.

There beinge Seaven Violes in all belonging to the Set, viz^t. Two Trebles, Two Tenours, Two Basses, & one Lyro-viole:⁷

It makes sense to interpret this difference as one of size and perhaps shape.⁵⁷

We cannot leave the second part of the seventeenth century without referring to Christopher Simpson, the great violist who left more instructions about playing the **division** viol than anyone else. Knowing that his readers will know what a **lyra** viol is he writes:⁵⁸

⁵⁴ see G.L. Pullen, *op.cit.* Playford borrowed material from Christopher Simpson after Simpson published *the Division Violist* in 1659.

⁵⁵ Cited in R. Kelly, 'The Lyra Viol Music' ... 43.

⁵⁶ Cited in R. Kelly, *op. cit.*, 43

⁵⁷ I have avoided discussion of the instrument measurements compiled by James Talbot (c.1685-1690) in a manuscript now in Christ Church Library. They are generally considered to be faulty in places, and, in general, rather too large. See R. Donington, *James Talbot's Manuscript* in the Galpin Society Journal, Number III, (March 1950). The argument expressed by Donington is highly plausible; that Talbot took information from Praetorius' *Theatrum Instrumentorum*, misinterpreting the German terminology, *Tenor Viola* as 'tenor viol' when it is large enough to be an English-sized bass viol. Also plausible is the theory that Talbot might have reproduced German measurements supplied by Gottfried Finger, (who helped him with information on the Treble and Tenor Viols and the Double Bass).

⁵⁸ C. Simpson, *The Division-Viol of the Art of Playing Extempore upon a Ground*, (London, 1665). Facsimile of the second edition, (Hertfordshire, 1955) 2.

[for the division viol]...’The Strings a little bigger than those of a Lyra-Viol; which must be laid at the like nearness to the Finger-board, for ease and convenience of Stopping.’

So here we have two other features of the instrument; **thin strings** and **low to the fingerboard**.

These comments of Sir Peter Leycester, Playford and Christopher Simpson agree about the three sizes of bass viol and its set-up.

Simpson published a few pieces in tablature with a bassline in his, *The Principles of Practical music, Delivered in a Compendious, Easie and New Method*⁵⁹...

As the tuning for these pieces is normal ffeff tuning, they can’t really be classed as lyra viol pieces but they are worth playing and whilst not simple, they are clearly intended to teach the learner how to read tablature.

In 1664, Playford made an important announcement:⁶⁰

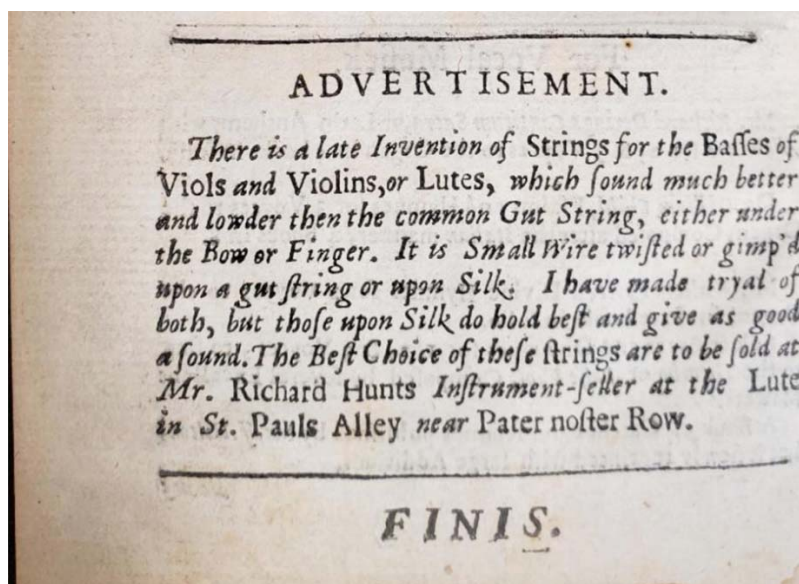


Figure 12. Advertisement from J. Playford’s, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, 1664.

Here is the answer to the problem way back in 1609, when George Gill and Peter Edney were trying out sympathetic strings and Hume was adding three extra strings. Here was a “Smart-Speaking” louder string, either plucked or bowed, for the bass strings.⁶¹

One more volume of lyra music appeared in 1671. As it was not one of Playford’s on-going productions, it deserves a mention. John Moss’ *Lessons for*

⁵⁹ London, 1665, (on EEBO and IMSLP). *for the instruction of beginners, either in singing or playing upon instruments : to which are added, some short and easie ayres designed for learners / by Chr. Simpson.*, (London, 1665).

⁶⁰ *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*. (London, 1664). This image is kindly supplied by Dan Larson of Gamut Strings.

⁶¹ We do not have ready access to silk strings today but it would be worth trying these to see if they are as successful as Playford suggests.

the Basse-Viol are examples of post-Restoration Suites of dances. They were written for the student viol player eager to learn how to read tablature and how to understand keys in relation to the tunings of the open strings. They are noteworthy in being the only works of their kind. They were printed for the author by W. Godbid, but were sold by Playford. These 26 Suites each have the same four dance movements (without preludes), Alman, Corant, Saraband and Jigg Alman, grouped by key and tuning. Some of the tunings have less than two octaves between top and bottom strings making it possible to play easily in more modern keys, like E major and B major, not used in earlier lyra music. The addition of a thorough bass line for a second viol brings this music firmly into a more modern setting. There is no mention of the word lyra; that seems rather old-fashioned in this context.

Conclusion

I have not dealt with the many manuscript music sources in this article, nor with the multiple tunings which pepper the literature. This is because the extreme high and low tunings are the ones which define the instrument to be used, along with pieces that use fixed pitch references in the form of another part in staff notation. For Jones, Hume and Maynard, we need a lyra that will tune up to g'. A large tenor/small bass, the size of the Richard Blunt 1605 viol in the Ashmolean Museum is ideal. Its vibrating string length of around 59cms is as long as this note can take at A=440. We also need a standard bass viol in D for playing tablature-notated pieces in D. For playing in Alfonso way and eights, requiring a low A', the lyra needs to be a large bass, and the festooned bass in the Ashmolean Museum is a good length at 74cms.⁶²

By the second part of the century, the Harpway tunings (which have affinities with particular keys) had become the favoured ones. Simpson's and Jenkins' lyra consorts use these in their four different types. Their upper and lower limits are within the standard bass viol range, so they **can** be played on a normal sized bass but we should follow the advice of Playford, Sir Peter Leycester and Simpson in using the small bass that will take a low D and sometimes C'. It needs to be strung with light, tight strings. As the lyra accompanies itself with chords, it is not as important to sustain a strong melodic bass line, as it was in consort music. Where composers like this bass continuity, they add another bass viol part playing a simple bass line. The agility of the small lyra is, in fact, an advantage, and the tight stringing allows for a quick response in crossing the strings. Using overspun strings in the bass will be necessary, to produce a clear tone. Using plain gut will put us back to the beginning of the century, when a better response from the lower strings was needed.

Whether you choose to have a plain viol or a festooned one, a viol with sympathetic strings or nine bowed ones, the aspect of lyra playing most crucial to its character, is a lute-like approach to chordal playing, light and easy. The

⁶² For information on these viols see, <http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/id/eprint/7054/1/FlemingViola2.pdf>

action of the bow must not be laboured in any way. Let it also be ‘smart-speaking’ and ‘lusty’ and we will have found the voice of the lyra.



Figure 13. Suggested instruments for the three main sizes of bass mentioned in this article. On the left is a small bass, copied from an English model of 1605 by John Blunt. On the right is a large bass copied from an anonymous English instrument; it is best for low tunings. In the middle is a division bass, copied from an instrument by Henry Jaye, 1624(1627?)

Acknowledgements: I wish to thank Andrew Ashbee for helpful advice and generous sharing of his resources. Shem Mackey has been an invaluable source of expert advice on the practical nature of viol making and its history. Thomas McCracken has provided essential help with information about specific viols, and general comment from his vast store of knowledge. Ruth Kelly kindly supplied me with a copy of her Ph.D thesis, *The Lyra Viol Music of Simon Ives*. My thanks go to Dan Larson of Gamut Strings for allowing me to use his photograph of Playford's *Advertisement*, from his own collection, for Figure 12.

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Another strain of Polewheel's Ground

STEPHAN SCHÖNLAU

In his 2011 article in Volume Five of this journal, Andrew Ashbee first discussed in detail one of the most popular ground basses of the mid to late seventeenth century, providing a comprehensive list of sources of all known divisions on this popular ground, missing out only the eighteenth-century manuscript source GB-DRc A.27, pp. 253–256, and the occurrence of the ground only in John Playford's *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, 2nd edn (London, 1655), 52, both of which are, however, mentioned by Ashbee in the article.¹ Here and in his brief follow-up article 'More on Polewheel',² Ashbee explores the possible origins of the ground and the 'mysterious' identity of its name-giver. The purpose of the present article is somewhat different: to analyse in detail all known 'versions' of 'Polewheel's Ground', thereby allowing for a deeper understanding of harmonization practices in division grounds, various patterns of copying strains from one source to another, as well as of more fundamental differences between keyboard sources and those for other instruments (viol/violin). Lastly, similarities with dance movements confirm the strong link between dances and grounds, indicating that there was a gradual scale from improvising varied repeats of dance strains to improvising a whole set of divisions on a ground bass.

Division grounds

For the purposes of this article, I define 'division grounds' as instrumental grounds, for one (occasionally two) solo instruments with accompaniment – or for keyboard – clearly structured in strains / divisions / variations (these terms are taken to be largely synonymous), with a perfect cadence at the end that is virtually never evaded.³ Exceptions to the last feature are occasionally found in grounds that use a bass pattern in two (or, rarely, three)⁴ sections, where each section is marked by a strong cadence, which, in some cases, may be an imperfect cadence instead of a perfect one for the first of two (or second of three) sections.

I would like to thank Rebecca Herissone and Andrew Woolley for reading draft versions of this material and offering numerous helpful comments for improvement, as well as Andrew Ashbee for providing me with valuable information on some of the sources cited in this article.

¹ A. Ashbee, 'The Mystery of Polewheel and his Ground', *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, 5 (2011), 1–13.

² A. Ashbee, 'More on Polewheel', *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, 7 (2013), 49.

³ That is not to say that divisions occur only in ostinato pieces. Instead, the technique seems to derive from the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century traditions of improvising diminutions as well as of improvised and composed cantus firmus pieces. I thank Andrew Woolley for pointing this out. For a summary of the division grounds repertory, see C. Field, 'Consort Music I: up to 1660', *The Seventeenth Century*, ed. I. Spink (=The Blackwell History of Music in Britain, vol. 3; Oxford, 1992), 223–224.

⁴ V. Gutmann, *Die Improvisation auf der Viola da Gamba in England im 17. Jahrhundert und ihre Wurzeln im 16. Jahrhundert* (Tutzing, 1979), 263, mentions a single three-section ground that she found in the bass viol division repertoire. This is listed on p. 215 as US-NYp Drexel 3554 [recte 3551], pp. 32–33, though that on pp. 1–6 of the same manuscript (given by Gutmann on p. 226) can arguably also be understood as consisting of a three-section ground, as there are three strong perfect cadences, in bars 8, 13, and 19, respectively.

As an example of the latter, the ground bass used in GB-Ob 67Mus. Sch. C. 71, pp. 114-117, as well as numerous other sources,⁵ consists of two sections, the first of which closes with a ‘half-cadence’ (see Figure 1). The first section of the ground (which I shall label ‘P’) is often repeated or treated to divisions before moving on to the second section (‘Q’); these labels were chosen to avoid confusion with note names. Strains are therefore based on either ‘P’ or ‘Q’, not both together, so a sequence of strains may read ‘P1 – P2 – Q1 – Q2’. In Polewheel’s Ground (Figure 2), both sections of the ground conclude with a perfect cadence – with the first being on scale degree 5 – and the two sections are also used independently – that is, the first section is not always immediately followed by the second.

Figure 1: GB-Ob Mus. Sch. C. 71, p. 114 (beginning)



would obviously need to fit with what the violist would be improvising, so any deviation from the implied harmonization going beyond the addition of suspensions would most likely result in unacceptable clashes of harmony. Indeed, Gilles Bonneau is unsure whether the accompanist of the violist playing the divisions should play a chordal accompaniment, finding that the strongest argument against playing chords throughout is that there are some cases where the harmonization of the ground is not entirely consistent and where the accompaniment would clash with the harmonization implied by the division violist.⁷ As will be shown, this is also the case in some versions of Polewheel's Ground.

The fact that many instrumental grounds stick to the primary implied harmonization most of the time is clearly related to the tradition of improvising divisions on a ground.⁸ In his *Division-Violist*, Simpson does not state clearly the need to stick to one harmonization, but he probably did not need to, as performers would have been familiar, or able to make themselves familiar by studying Simpson's examples, with the practice of division grounds as well as with implied harmonizations of stock patterns and other bass formulae.⁹ He does mention, however, that certain notes of the ground will 'require' a sixth in place of a fifth, although he remains rather vague as to which notes this would concern if the ground is not figured accordingly.¹⁰ Simpson clearly refers to standard harmonisations of a falling or rising scale in the bass, most frequently known in later Continental sources as the 'rule of the octave' ('règle de l'octave' or 'regola dell'ottava').¹¹ Descriptions given in English treatises of the period are comparatively few and vague, but give some indication of what harmonic implications composers and improvisers would have had in the back of their mind. Examples include Matthew Locke's *Melothesia* (especially his second rule), or the section 'Of Natural Sixes' from Gottfried Keller's posthumous *Compleat Method*.¹²

⁷ G. Bonneau, 'Playing Upon a Ground: An Analysis of the Improvisation Technique of Christopher Simpson as Presented in *The Division-Viol* (1665), with an Annotated Transcription of Simpson's Musical Examples', DMA dissertation (University of Texas, Austin, published Ann Arbor, Michigan, 2000), 36–38.

⁸ Ashbee speaks of a 'formulaic straight-jacket [imposing] limitations on harmony and phrasing', thereby 'smother[ing] composers' individual characteristics' (A. Ashbee, 'Bodleian Library, printed book Mus. 184.c.8 re-visited', *The Viol*, 2 (2006), 19).

⁹ Gutmann points out that Diego Ortiz gives a large number of examples of diminution in cadences in his treatise *Trattado de Glosas* (Rome, 1553); these examples are intended as stock patterns ('Schablonen') that can be used instead of a simple cadence where appropriate (Gutmann, *Die Improvisation auf der Viola da Gamba*, 35). Unlike Ortiz, Giovanni Battista Bovicelli's treatise *Regole passaggi di musica* (Venice, 1594) gives both 'good' and 'bad' examples for stock diminution of cadences. Bovicelli's book may have been known to Angelo Notari, who lived in Venice at the time and until 1610, when Notari moved to England (Gutmann, *Die Improvisation auf der Viola da Gamba*, 44–45).

¹⁰ Simpson, *Division-Violist*, 28.

¹¹ T. Christensen, 'The "Règle de l'Octave" in Thorough-Bass Theory and Practice', *Acta Musicologica*, 64 (1992), 91.

¹² M. Locke, *Melothesia* (London, 1673), 6; G. Keller, *Compleat Method for Attaining to Play a Thorough Bass* (London, 1707), 4–5. These examples are discussed in more detail in S. Schönlaue, 'Creative Approaches to Ground-Bass Composition in England, c.1675–c.1705', Ph.D. thesis (University of Manchester, 2019), 38–40. Available online at https://www.research.manchester.ac.uk/portal/files/151701981/FULL_TEXT.PDF

In his ‘Essay of Musicall Ayre’ (GB-Lbl Add. 32536), dated by John Wilson c1715–1720, Roger North compares an organist improvising a voluntary to an orator improvising a speech, stressing the importance of studying models in each case.¹³ This is followed by a passage with wide-ranging implications:

[A]s for Ayre of all sorts, he must be filled with it by a constant exercise, as well in the performing part, as in the imploy of perusing, wrighting, comparing, and transposing from key to key the best musick (of many parts in score and with as much variety as) he can procure [...]. By this he will know the fluency and emphases of musick, and **his memory will be filled with numberless passages of approved ayre**, and have *ad unguem* [precisely] all the cursory graces of cadences and semi-cadences, and comon descants and breakings, as well as the ordinary ornaments of accord, or touch. [...] It is not to be expected that a master invents all he plays in that manner. No, he doth but play over those passages that are in his memory and habituall to him. But the choice, application, and connexion are his, and so is the measure, either grave, buisy, or precipitate; as also the severall keys to use as he pleaseth. And among the rest, in the spirit of zeal when he is warme and engaged, he will fullfill of his owne present invention a musick which, joyned with the rest, shall be new and wonderfull. [...] Then for connection, these passages which a voluntiere serves himself of are (by transitions of his owne) so interwoven as to make one style, and will appear as a new work of a good composer, of whom **the best** (as I will venture to say here) **useth the methods of a volunteire, and more or less borrows ayre from those that went before him**, and such as he hath bin most conversant with [my emphases].¹⁴

The two passages cited in bold show clearly that North considered both stock patterns and material by other composers to be essential for improvisation and, indeed, composition, and that the best composers borrow ideas from their predecessors and contemporaries to make their own, ‘new and wonderfull’ composition.¹⁵ This has implications for the improvisation of division grounds, which in turn may explain some of the extreme variation between the versions of division grounds transmitted in notated sources; it also explains the common practice of ‘borrowing’ strains from different sources to create a new, ‘personal’ version of a piece (see below).

The two basic forms of division are ‘*Breaking the Ground*, [that] is the *dividing its Notes into more diminute Notes*’, in other words, the notes of the ground must still be detectable in the divisions,¹⁶ and ‘*Descant-Diminution, or Division, is That, which maketh another distinct, and concurring Part unto the Ground*’.¹⁷ As Bernhard Appel points out, the difference between the two main types of division is that, in ‘breaking’, the violist plays the ‘holding note’¹⁸ (that is, the note in the ground or

¹³ See *Roger North on Music*, ed. J. Wilson (London, 1959), 141.

¹⁴ Quoted in *Roger North on Music*, ed. Wilson, 141.

¹⁵ See also the discussion of this passage in R. Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge, 2013), 369–370.

¹⁶ Simpson, *Division-Violist*, 21.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁸ In a marginal note, Simpson states that the ‘*Holding-Note, Standing-Note, Ground-Note*, and *Note divided* are the same’ (*ibid.*, 23).

its octave equivalent) at the start of every new note in the ground,¹⁹ or, in Simpson's words, it 'meets every *succeeding Note* of the *Ground*, in the *Unison* or *Octave*'.²⁰ This regularly results in consecutive unisons or octaves to the ground, something that is avoided in 'Descant-Diminution', where a truly independent ('distinct')²¹ upper part is improvised to the ground. Playing 'descant' clearly requires an accompanying part, so the inclusion of descant divisions would imply that some form of accompaniment was used. A third type, called 'Mixt-division', 'mixeth *Descant*, and *Breaking the Ground*, One with the Other', consisting of 'the Sounds of *two*, or *more* Parts moving together; which is expressed, either in *Single-Notes*, by hitting first upon one *Part*, and then upon *Another*; or in *Double-Notes*, by touching Two, or More Strings at once with the *Bow*'.²² In other words, 'mixt-division' is identified not just by frequent and rapid changes in register, but also by an outlining of the ground by having either the ground notes on the beats of the bar in the same register, or by retaining the progression from one ground note to the next (often in combination with the former), as in 'breaking'.

Sources

Figure 3 gives an overview of all sources of Polewheel's Ground, including information on copying dates. Unlike Ashbee's list, it also counts each piece separately, including those in F-Pc Rés 1186bis (1), pp. 10–21, which are listed as two separate pieces (K4 and K5) as there is a separate heading reading 'A 3d. Way' on p. 17. In Figure 3, pieces are numbered in approximately chronological order, with instrumental (viol or violin) pieces labelled 'In' and counted separately from keyboard ones, which are labelled 'K', as well as those containing only the ground ('G').

Figure 3: Details and sources of 'Polewheel's Ground'; in approximate chronological order

	Source; significant rubrics	Date of source ²³	Key note; stave / time signature
In1	GB-CHEr DLT/B.31, ff. 54v–55r: <i>Per Peter Younge</i>	Ashbee: ²⁴ c1640s–1650s	D (1 _b), ♢
In2	GB-CHEr DLT/B.31, ff. 55v–56r: <i>Per Christofer Simson</i>	<i>Ditto</i>	Tablature only, ♢

¹⁹ B. Appel, 'Christopher Simpson's Systematik der Divisionsverfahren (1667)', *Die Musikforschung*, 35 (1982), 227. See also T. Conner, 'The Ground-Breaking Treatise of Christopher Simpson', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*, 36 (1999), 11.

²⁰ Simpson, *Division-Violist*, 28.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 28.

²² Simpson, *Division-Violist*, 29.

²³ References to 'Herissone' are to the Catalogue of Restoration Music Manuscripts appended to Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, available at <http://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=16614>

²⁴ Ashbee, 'Polewheel and his Ground', 4.

G1	John Playford, <i>An Introduction to the Skill of Musick</i> , 2nd edn. (London, 1655), p. 52 Not in the 1st edn. (1654), but in all subsequent ones at least until the (penultimate) 18 th edn. (1724).	1655	D (-), ☿
In3	GB-Lbl Add. 59869, ff. 38r–37v (rev.)	VdGS IMCCM I: c1659? ²⁵	D (1 _b), ☿
In4	A-Goëss MS 'A', ff. 47v–49r	Del Amo: ²⁶ c1655–c1668	Tablature only, ☿
G2	GB-Llp 1040, f. 1r	Herissone: 1660s	D (1 _b), [☿]
G3	US-NYp Drexel 3551, p. 60	1660s? ²⁷	D (1 _b), ☿
K1	GB-Ob Mus. Sch. D.219, ff. 18v–19r (pp. 28–29)	Herissone: c1660s	D (1 _b), ☿
In5	GB-Ob Mus. 184. C. 8, pp. 81–86: <i>P.W.'s own follow</i>	Ashbee: ²⁸ 1660–1670	D (1 _b), ☿
In6	GB-Ob Mus. Sch. C. 71, pp. 100–102: <i>August 30th 1672 // Mr. Jenkins</i>	del Amo: ²⁹ 1671–1673	D (1 _b), ☿
In7	GB-Ob Mus. Sch. C. 71, pp. 102–104: <i>Mr. Butler</i>	<i>Ditto</i>	D (1 _b), ☿
In8	GB-Ob Mus. Sch. C. 71, pp. 140–142: <i>Finis Mr. Witbey.</i>	<i>Ditto</i>	D (1 _b), ☿
In9	GB-HAdolmetsch II.C.24, ff. 29v–30r: <i>Pole Wheele</i>	Del Amo: ³⁰ after c1672	D (1 _b), ☿
In10	US-U q763 P699c, f. 9v (attached to a copy of <i>Cantiones Sacrae</i> of 1674)	1674 or later	D (1 _b), ☿
In11	GB-Ob Mus. C. 39, ff. 11v–12r, 23v: <i>Powl Wheel</i>	Gilmore: ³¹ 1679	D (1 _b), [☿] → 31 → ☿
In12	GB-Ob Mus. C. 39, ff. 14v–15v	<i>Ditto</i>	D (1 _b), ☿
In13	GB-Ob Mus. C. 39, ff. 16r–17v	<i>Ditto</i>	D (1 _b), ☿
In14	GB-Och Mus. 1183, ff. 32v–33r: <i>Polwheele</i>	Herissone: 1660s–1670s	D (1 _b), ☿

²⁵ A. Ashbee; R. Thompson; J. Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music* [hereafter *VdGS IMCCM*], vol. I (Aldershot, 2001), 77.

²⁶ P. del Amo Iribarren, 'Anthony Poole (c.1629–1692), the Viol and Exiled English Catholics', Ph.D. thesis (University of Leeds, 2011), 205.

²⁷ See Ashbee, 'Polewheel and his Ground', 7–11.

²⁸ Ashbee, 'Bodleian Library, Printed Book Mus. 184 c.8 Revisited', 18.

²⁹ Del Amo, 'Anthony Poole', 190.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 240.

³¹ M. Gilmore, 'A Note on Bass Viol Sources of *The Division-Violin*', *Early Music*, 11 (1983), 223.

K2	GB-Och Mus. 15, ff. 85v–85r	Herissone: between c1662 and 1682	D (1 _b), [♯]
In15	D-F Mus Hs 337, pp. 14–17: <i>Mr Francis Pollwheel's Division on Mr Peter</i>	Del Amo: ³² 'late 1670s or 1680s'	D (1 _b), ♯
In16	D-F Mus Hs 337, pp. 18–20: <i>Mr Daniell Northcombe's Division on Mr Peter Young's Ground transposed for the Violin</i>	Del Amo: ³³ 'late 1670s or 1680s'	D (1 _b), ♯
In17	D-F Mus Hs 337, pp. 25–27: <i>A Division by Mr Peter Young transposed an eighth higher for the Violin</i>	<i>Ditto</i>	D (1 _b), ♯
In18	D-F Mus Hs 337, pp. 28–31: <i>A Division by Mr John Withey on Mr Peter Young's Ground transposed for the Violin</i>	<i>Ditto</i>	D (1 _b), ♯ → 3
In19	<i>The Division-Violin</i> (London, 1684), no. 3: <i>A Division on Mr. Paulwheels Ground</i> (title as given in the index)	<i>Ditto</i>	D (1 _b), ♯ → 3
In20	<i>The Division-Violin</i> (London, 1684), no. 8: <i>Another Division on Paulwheels Ground [by Mr. Banister]</i> (title as given in the index with additional text in square brackets)	<i>Ditto</i>	D (1 _b), ♯ → c62
In21	US-Cn Case 6A 143 (MS additions to an exemplar of Simpson's <i>The Division-Viol</i> , 2 nd edn. (London, 1667), [pp. 2–4]: <i>Powheels Ground</i>	Gilmore: ³⁴ 'adapted from <i>The Division-Violin</i> ', so 1684 or later ³⁵	D (1 _b), ♯
K3	GB-Och Mus. 1176, ff. 14v–15r	Herissone: late 1670s onwards	D (1 _b), ♯
K4	F-Pc Rés 1186bis (1), pp. 10–17: <i>Mr: Price</i>	Herissone/Woolley: ³⁶ 1680, completed by second scribe 1690s	D (1 _b), ♯
K5	F-Pc Rés 1186bis (1), pp. 17–21: <i>A 3^d. Way</i>	Herissone: 1690s; Woolley ³⁷ : around 1700 or a little earlier	D (1 _b), [♯]
In22	GB-Ob Mus. C. 61, pp. 6–7: <i>Peter Young</i>	Herissone / VdGS <i>IMCCM</i> II: ³⁸ c1688–1700	D (1 _b), [♯]

³² Del Amo, 'Anthony Poole', 223.

³³ Del Amo, 'Anthony Poole', 223.

³⁴ Gilmore, 'Bass Viol Sources of *The Division-Violin*', 224.

³⁵ Note that In21 combines In19 and 20, that is both versions from *The Division-Violin*. See also Figure 4 below.

³⁶ A. Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts, c.1660–1720', Ph.D. thesis (University of Leeds, 2008), 229.

³⁷ Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources', 229.

³⁸ A. Ashbee; R. Thompson; J. Wainwright, *VdGS IMCCM*, II, 138.

K6	B-Bc 15139, pp. 158–163: <i>D^r: Blow</i>	Herissone: c1695–c1705; Holman: ³⁹ 1700–1710	D (1 _b), ♯
In23	GB-DRc A.27, pp. 253–256 (attributed to Anthony Poole) ⁴⁰	VdGS <i>IMCCM</i> : ⁴¹ 1722–1739?	D (-), 4/4 → c12/8 → c24/16
G4	S-Uu imhs 079:001, treble part, f. 1r: <i>J. Jenkins</i>	?	D (1 _b), [♯]

Instrumental (viol/violin) versions

Almost all of the instrumental sources are for bass viol, with only two violin sources (D-F Mus Hs 337⁴² and *The Division-Violin*, henceforth abbreviated *DV*), respectively containing In15 to 18, as well as In19 and 20. While it needs to be pointed out that some of this music may also have been played on viol (transposed down an octave),⁴³ both sources refer clearly to the violin and, crucially, also give the ground bass separately, suggesting that the violinist would have been accompanied by someone playing the ground, something that is much less clear with the bass viol sources, where the ground is sometimes given at the start and sometimes not at all (but certainly never separately).⁴⁴ Even these violin versions, however, appear to have been derived from bass viol ones, either because there is a viol version predating the violin one (In19 and 20) or because the violin source clearly states that it has been ‘transposed for the Violin’ (In15 to 18). There seem to be no extant bass viol concordances with In16 and 18, but the fact that the violin versions are attributed to ‘Daniell Northcombe’ and ‘John Withey’ respectively, both of who played the viol, further highlights the likelihood that all of the violin versions are derived from bass viol ones, along with the fact that most other pieces in D-F Mus Hs 337 are attributed to renowned viol players.

³⁹ P. Holman, ‘A New Source of Restoration Keyboard Music’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 20 (1986/87), 53.

⁴⁰ Modern edition: A. Poole, *Divisions on Polembeel’s Ground*, ed. G. Dodd (=VdGS ME 139, 1981).

⁴¹ Ashbee et al., *VdGS IMCCM*, II, 43.

⁴² An edition of this manuscript is being prepared for *Musica Britannica*.

⁴³ Holman makes reference to the use of the treble clef and the ‘octave-transposing convention’ in bass viol music around 1700: P. Holman, *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010), 69, also 52, 87.

⁴⁴ Note that, in *DV*, no. 16, ‘The Ground’ is given as a treble melody at the start of the violin part, while the bass given at the end is titled ‘The Basse to the Ground’, while no. 17 similarly gives ‘The Ground’ as a treble melody, distinguishing it from ‘The Ground Basse’ given at the end. No. 20 gives the bass as ‘The Ground’, while no. 22 (‘Another Division upon a Ground by Mr. P.B.’) gives no bass at all, but presents an outline melody first (presumably ‘The Ground’), all of which suggests some terminological confusion or, at least, ambiguity as to when the word ‘Ground’ referred to the bass or to the outline melody of the treble part. Del Amo points out that music for solo bass viol is often ambiguous about whether it is meant to include a continuo part, as some works survive with such a part in some sources and without in others (Del Amo, ‘Anthony Poole’, 152). Simpson, however, makes it quite clear that division grounds are to be accompanied by another (preferably chordal) instrument (see above).

Figure 4 presents an overview of concordances between strains of the instrumental versions. If one were to discount sources that use only strains from one or more other sources (in whatever order), one would count only nine distinct instrumental versions: In1, 2, 6, 8, 11, 13, 16, 18, and 23. All other instrumental versions are derived from one or more of these. It would appear that there were two separate versions from relatively early on, as In1 and 2 (between which there is no overlap in strains) are contained in the same manuscript from the 1640s or 1650s (GB-CHEr DLT/B.31).

Figure 4: Concordances between strains in instrumental (viol or violin) sets of divisions on ‘Polewheel’s Ground’; strains that are given the same number are identical or at least very similar to one another. Colours highlight concordances (no colouring = unique strain), with grey shading showing the ground bass, where it is given as part of the piece (so not separately)

Viol or Violin: ‘Peter Young’/‘Mr Butler’/‘Polewheel’/‘Mr Banister’

<i>In1</i> ⁴⁵	P1	P2	Q1	Q2	P3	P4	Q3	Q4	P5	P6	Q5	Q6
<i>In7</i> ⁴⁶	—	P2	—	Q2	P3	P4	Q3	Q4	P5	P6	Q5	Q6
<i>In11</i>	P1	Q1	P7	P8	Q7	Q8	P9	P10	Q9	Q10	<i>continues</i>	
<i>continued</i>		P11	P12	Q11	Q12	P13	Q13					
<i>In20</i>	—	—	P7	P8	Q7	Q8	P9	P10	Q9	Q10	<i>continues</i>	
<i>continued</i>		P11	P12	Q11	Q12							
<i>In19</i>	P13	P2	Q13	Q2	P3	P4	Q3	Q4	P5	P6	Q5	Q8
<i>In21</i>	P7	P2	Q7	Q2	P3	P4	Q3	Q4	P5	P6	<i>continues</i>	
<i>continued</i>		Q5	Q8	P7	P8	Q7	Q8	P9	P10	Q9	<i>continues</i>	
<i>continued</i>		Q10	P11	P12	Q11	Q12						

Viol: ‘Mr Jenkins’/‘Mr Withey’

<i>In16</i>	P1	P14	Q1	Q14	P15	P16	Q15	Q16	P17	P18	<i>continues</i>	
<i>continued</i>		Q17	Q18	P19	P20	Q19	Q20					

<i>In8</i>	P1	Q1	P21	P22	Q21	Q22	P23	P24	Q23	Q24	<i>continues</i>	
<i>continued</i>		P25	P26	Q25	Q26	P27	Q27	P14	Q14	P15	Q15	

Viol: ‘Christofer Simson’

<i>In2</i>	–	P28	–	Q28	P29	P30	Q29	Q30	P31	P32	Q31	Q32
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⁴⁵ Identical, apart from minor variants, in In3, 4, 9, 10, 12, 14, 22.

⁴⁶ Identical, apart from minor variants, in In17.

<i>In5</i>	P1	P28	Q1	Q28	P29	P30	Q29	Q30	P31	P32	<i>continues</i>	
<i>contd.</i>	Q31	Q32	P2	Q2	P3	P4	Q3	Q4	P5	P6	Q5	Q6

Viol or Violin: ‘Mr Francis Polewheel’s Divisions’

<i>In13</i>	P1	P33	Q1	Q33	P34	P35	Q34	Q35	P36	P37	<i>continues</i>
<i>continued</i>		Q36	Q37	P38	P39	Q38	Q39				

<i>In15</i>	–	P33	–	Q33	P34	P35	Q34	Q35	P36	P37	<i>continues</i>
<i>continued</i>		Q36	Q37	P38	P39	Q38	Q39				

Other Viol or Violin (all divisions unique)

<i>In16</i>	P	Q	P	P	Q	Q	P	P	Q	Q
-------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

<i>In18</i>	P	Q	P	P	Q	Q	P	P	Q	Q	P	P	Q	Q
-------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

<i>In23</i>	P1	P	Q1	Q	P	Q	P	P	Q	Q	P	P	<i>continued</i>
<i>Continues</i>	Q	Q	P	P	Q	Q							

The authorship of strains P2–6 and Q2–6 is rather unclear, with the earliest source (In1) attributing them to Peter Young (repeated in In17 and 22), while In7 and In20 respectively give ‘Mr Butler’ and ‘Mr Banister’. In5, 9, and 14 identify the author as ‘P.W.’, ‘Pole Wheele’, and ‘Polwheel’ respectively, whose name also occurs in In11, which, however, shares no strains with In1, suggesting the label may have been used for the ground rather than any specific divisions on it. By contrast, the divisions In15 are attributed to ‘Mr Francis Pollwheel’, while the ground is supposedly by Peter Young, further confusing the question of authorship of the ground bass and of the various divisions on it. Patxi del Amo has identified two likely candidates as composers named Francis Polewheel in D-F Mus Hs 337: either Francis Polwhele of Polwhele (born 1608), or Francis Polewheele (baptised 1609), the daughter of William Polewheele of Tettenhall, Staffordshire, whose gender may be a reason why her identity as composer could so far not be verified.⁴⁷ The authorship of the ground bass and that of some of the divisions may never be known. Indeed, some ground basses, along with some of the more popular strains, might have been ‘seen as common property, much in the way folk and jazz musicians regard certain standards’, with ‘works on well-known grounds such as Polewheel’s [...] especially prone to multiple authorship’.⁴⁸

There are also three versions consisting entirely of unique strains (In16, 18, 23), and two further versions (In6 and 8), which overlap in only four strains. As mentioned before, the two violin versions In16 and 18 in all probability derive from lost or currently unknown bass viol versions, while the other three occur in two sources, GB-Ob Mus. Sch. C.71 (In6 and 8) and GB-DRc A.27 (In23). C.71, bound with an exemplar of the 1667 edition of Christopher Simpson’s *The*

⁴⁷ Del Amo, ‘Anthony Poole’, 222. See also Ashbee, ‘Polewheel and his Ground’, 2–3.

⁴⁸ Del Amo, ‘Anthony Poole’, 195–196.

Division Viol,⁴⁹ seems to have been copied in the 1670s by William Noble, with an inserted folio only containing the hand of Francis Withy,⁵⁰ Noble's colleague as singing man at Oxford and quite possibly his viol teacher.⁵¹ Both Withy and Noble demonstrate the widespread practice of learning through imitation and using existing models (such as Polewheel's Ground) as a basis for their own, new compositions, as discussed earlier. In6 and In8 may be a case in point: Strains P14–15 and Q14–15, which open the version clearly attributed to John Jenkins in C.71 (In6), recur at the end of In8, which appear to be attributed to 'Mr. Withey' (most likely Francis),⁵² to round off what may well have been newly composed divisions by Withy.

The non-keyboard versions of Polewheel's Ground can be used to demonstrate the prevalence of different division types in division grounds of the mid- to late-seventeenth century. In general, relatively little 'breaking' of the ground is used, and even pure 'descanting' occurs in only a relatively small number of strains, suggesting that both techniques may have been considered too basic and worthy mainly of a beginner at improvising divisions. In fact, Simpson finds '*Mixt-Division* [...] more excellent than the single wayes of *Breaking the Ground*, or *Descanting* upon it; so it is more intricate; and requires something more of Skill, and Judgement, in Composition'.⁵³ It is perhaps not surprising that In1, for example, consists almost exclusively of 'mixt-division', with some breaking of the ground, but very little true 'descanting'.

Comparing the prevalence of the three division types in Polewheel's Ground to those in division grounds genuinely conceived for treble violin, such as Farinel's Ground (or several other grounds published in *DV*) reveals that 'descanting' is much more prevalent in the latter, while 'breaking' and 'mixt-division' are comparatively rare. Even when 'mixt-division' is employed, care is generally taken not to double the ground bass in an obvious way. This suggests that 'mixt-division' was associated primarily with bass viol divisions, which may have to do either with performance practice – that is, the divisions not always being accompanied by another instrument playing the ground bass, though Simpson's statements quoted above suggest that this would not have been the preferred setting – or with the simple fact that a bass viol is able to double the ground *at pitch*, leading to arguably more acceptable consecutive unisons, rather than the more objectionable consecutive octaves resulting from a violin doubling the ground.

As del Amo has suggested, the arrangement of the set on p. 57 of Simpson's *Division-Violist* as item 9 of *DV* is a good example of what variants such arrangements from bass viol to treble violin resulted in, notably 'the placement of complete short phrases up or down an octave [...], the introduction of melodic or repeated figuration to avoid large leaps in the lowest range [of the

⁴⁹ The Catalogue of Music Manuscripts appended to Herissone, *Musical Creativity* erroneously states that it is bound with a copy of Simpson's *Compendium* (1667) instead.

⁵⁰ Ashbee et al., *VdGS IMCCM*, II, 155–156.

⁵¹ Del Amo, 'Anthony Poole', 189.

⁵² Ashbee argues for this set of divisions having been copied by Francis, rather than John Withy, contradicting Gordon Dodd's entry in the *VdGS Thematic Index*. The attribution of strains P14–15 and Q14–15 to Jenkins does not, however, seem in doubt.

⁵³ Simpson, *Division-Violist*, 29.

violin], and the substitution of large final chords and broken octaves with more idiomatic, whole-bar-long trichords'.⁵⁴ Similar insubstantial changes can be found in the violin arrangements of Polewheel's Ground, though these variants rarely change a passage from, say, breaking or 'mixt' to descant division.

Keyboard versions

As shown in Figure 3 above, there are six keyboard versions and, similarly to the instrumental ones, there is considerable overlap between these sources, as demonstrated in Figure 5.⁵⁵ The earliest keyboard versions, K1 and 2, consist of only four and nine strains respectively – shorter than any instrumental version – between which there is no overlap, suggesting they were produced independently of each other. While K3 consists of only the first six strains of K2, the other subsequent sources either expand the version in K2 (K5 and 6), or, in the case of K4, combine K1 and four strains from K2, adding further strains, most of which are unique to this source. Unlike in the instrumental versions, there seems to have been a tendency to *add* strains to later keyboard versions, rather than leaving strains out.

Figure 5: Concordances between strains in keyboard sets of divisions on 'Polewheel's Ground'; strains that are given the same number are identical or at least very similar to one another. Colours highlight concordances (no colouring = unique strain); note that colours shared with those in non-keyboard sources in Figure 4 do not indicate concordances with these)

K1	P52	Q52	P53	Q53							
K2	P54	Q54	P55 ⁵⁶	P56	Q55	Q56	P57	P58	Q57		
K3	P54	Q54	P55	P56	Q55	Q56					
K4	P52	P53	Q52	Q53	P57	P58	Q58	Q59	P55 ⁵⁷	continues	
contd.	P56	Q60	Q61	P59	P60	Q62	P61 ⁵⁸	Q63			
K5	P54	Q54	Q55	Q57	P62	P63	Q64	P64	P65	continues	
contd.	Q65	Q66	P66	P67	Q54						
K6	P54	Q54	P55	P56	Q55	Q56	P57	P58	Q57	continues	
contd.	Q58	P62	P63	P64	P65	Q66	Q65 ⁵⁹	P66	P67	Q54	Q67

⁵⁴ Del Amo, 'Anthony Poole', 215.

⁵⁵ See also Robert Klakowich's work on the keyboard sources of Polewheel's Ground in J. Blow, *Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. R. Klakowich (=Musica Britannica, vol. 73; London, 1998), 137–138.

⁵⁶ In this and in the following variation, the ground moves to the top part.

⁵⁷ In this and in the following three variations, the ground moves to the top part.

⁵⁸ In this variation, the ground moves to the top part.

⁵⁹ First bar copied a third too high.

The authorship of keyboard music is often even less clear than that of other instrumental music and this is also the case for Polewheel's Ground.⁶⁰ The only two keyboard versions with an attribution in the source are K4, attributed to one 'Mr Price' (possibly Robert Price),⁶¹ and K6, attributed to John Blow, although all but the last strain of the latter also occur in F-Pc Rés 1186bis (1) as K4 and 5, a source not connected to Blow. For this reason, Robert Klakowich argues convincingly that only the final, unique strain Q67 may represent Blow's addition.⁶²

Apart from the obvious difference in texture, the keyboard versions also differ from the instrumental ones in two features: the large-scale structure or ordering of strains is more flexible in the keyboard versions (some keyboard sources reorder strains that appear to be copied from earlier ones),⁶³ and, occasionally, the ground moves to the upper part of the texture. The latter feature is common practice in English keyboard grounds from around 1600 and does occur in some of Purcell's grounds,⁶⁴ but is otherwise rare by the end of the seventeenth century. This suggests that Polewheel's Ground, unlike some more 'fashionable' grounds such as 'Farinel's Ground' (the *folia*) was still associated with an earlier, quintessentially English practice.

Harmonization and use of imitation

As argued earlier, the presence of a separate ground bass in the violin sources suggests that these versions were accompanied by another instrument playing the ground and, at least in some cases, also a chordal accompaniment. Version In19 in *DV* gives the ground bass on its own after the violin part, with two figures '6' in the bass, suggesting that all other bass notes (except the passing quaver in the first bar) are to be accompanied by simple 5/3 chords. Comparing this to a chordal harmonization as used in strain P54 (the opening strain of K2, 3, 5, and 6), both 6-chords are found, but in addition, several 5/3 chords have a raised third (Figure 6). Incidentally, several rather obvious consecutive fifths and octaves in the harmonization of both sections of the ground (strains P54 and Q54 from the keyboard versions)⁶⁵ suggest that voice-leading rules were not applied strictly in division grounds, especially considering the possibility that Blow – without doubt an eminent composer who would have been well versed in principles of traditional counterpoint – was responsible in some way for the version in B-Bc 15139 (K6), which opens with these two strains.

⁶⁰ See Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, 359.

⁶¹ Blow, *Complete Harpsichord Music*, 137.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ The large-scale structure of division grounds is discussed in some detail in a forthcoming article on Farinel's Ground

⁶⁴ See for example Thomas Tomkins's *A Grounde* and Giles Farnaby's *Grounde* in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (J.A. Fuller Maitland; W. Barclay Squire, ed., *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, vol. 2 (New York, 1963, reprint of Breitkopf & Härtel, 1899), 87–93 and 353–358). Candace Bailey considers this feature an overlap with the variation set. See C. Bailey, 'English Keyboard Music, c1625–1680', Ph.D. dissertation (Duke University, 1992, printed Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1993), 198.

⁶⁵ These do not, however, occur between outer parts, but always involve a middle part and the bass.

Figure 6: Opening strains (P54 and Q54) and the start of strain P55, in K2 (GB-Och 15, f. 86r); passages with consecutive fifths and octaves highlighted



Strains P9–11 are given in full in Figures 7a and 7b, as several ‘problems’ cluster in these. All three strains conclude with what appears to be a chord with a flat third, while several other strains clearly suggest a raised third – still others avoid the third altogether and can thus be interpreted either way – though it seems likely that the raised third was consistently implied at the end of ‘P’ strains.⁶⁶ More significantly, the second bar of each strain can start either with a 5/3-chord (strain P9) or a 6/3-chord (P10) or be unclear (P11), likewise the third beat in the bar, where P11 has a 5/3-chord while P10 again suggests a 6/3-chord, and the fourth beat, where the 5/3-chord occurs in P11 and the 6/3 in P9. Similarly, the third beat of the second bar in ‘Q’ strains can take, in modern terms, either a diminished triad, a minor triad, a major triad, a 6/3-chord, or a 6/3 \sharp chord, with one strain even suggesting a fourth, which could theoretically be realized as a 4-3 suspension (Figure 8).

All of this suggests several points: to avoid harmonic clashes between the violin part and the chordal accompaniment in written-out divisions, the accompanist

⁶⁶ Cf., however, Gordon Dodd’s notes to his edition of GB-DRc A.27: ‘The player’s instinct [at the close of each strain] is to sharpen the third, whether or not a sharp is marked; here, however, he is invited to look at each close separately, for it is not to be taken for granted that [the ascribed composer Anthony] Poole meant them all to be major. Everyone must make up his own mind, not forgetting to keep the continuo player informed. The continuo player needs to know more than what is deducible from the ground alone, since the harmonization implied by the solo part changes from strain to strain.’ (Poole, *Divisions on Polembeel’s Ground*).

Figure 7a: Strains P9 and 10 in In19 (*DV* no. 3), with ground bass and figures added, based on the harmonization implied by the violin part

Strain P9

Strain P10

would have had to either follow the notated violin part and adjust his or her accompaniment accordingly, or, he or she would have had to remember what that part was doing, the latter of which would have required a rehearsal of some sort, involving some degree of trial and error. Avoiding such clashes would have been more difficult in improvised performances, and would have required either precise planning (deciding, for example, which strains are to end on a chord with

raised third) or some sort of signalling during performance. Alternatively, though perhaps less likely, performers might have accepted some clashes as unavoidable ‘mistakes’.

Figure 7b: Strain P11 in In19 (*DV* no. 3), with ground bass and figures added, based on the harmonization implied by the violin part

Strain P11

The musical score for Strain P11 consists of three systems. The first system is in 6/2 time and shows a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a ground bass. Fingerings are indicated as 5, [6], 5, [5], 5, 5, 5. The second system shows a key signature change to one sharp (F#) and continues the melodic and ground bass lines. Fingerings are indicated as 5, 5, [5], 4, 6, 5/4, #. The third system is a single-measure phrase in the treble staff, with a key signature change to one flat (Bb) and a fingering of 4.

In a genre in which imitative counterpoint plays hardly any role at all, the only instances of attempted imitation seem almost accidental, by-products, as it were, of simple, note-against-note counterpoint. Figure 9 shows a number of strains that seem to imitate the ground in diminution, in halved note values to be exact, and how this may be derived from the descant division P13. Note that strains P2 and P57 are very similar, but arguably sufficiently different to list them as distinct strains. One bass-viol version, In23, even uses ‘mixt division’ in a way that the ground and its imitation in diminution appear to sound at the same time in implied polyphony (Figure 10).⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Manfred Bukofzer explains the term ‘implied polyphony’ with reference to Bach’s works for solo cello and solo violin, but also identifies it in some of the same composer’s keyboard music (M. Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era* (London, 1948), 289–290, 304–305). Albert Bregman has investigated the psychological basis for hearing such ‘implied polyphony’ in his seminal work *Auditory Scene Analysis: The Perceptual Organization of Sound* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1990), 464.

Figure 8: Strains Q13, Q2, Q5, Q6, Q9, and Q12 (second bar only) in In19 and 20 (*DV* nos. 3 and 8), with ground bass and figures added, based on the harmonization implied by the violin part

The figure displays six musical strains and a ground bass line, each in a treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature. The strains are labeled on the left: Strain Q13, Strain Q2, Strain Q5, Strain Q6, Strain Q9, and Strain Q12. The ground bass is labeled 'Ground' and is in a bass clef. Red figures (5, 6, 4, 3, 5b, 7) are placed below the notes in the strains, and a red [5] is placed below the first note in the ground bass.


Similarity to dance movements with varied repeats

The structure of grounds using a bass in two sections, such as Polewheel's Ground, bears some resemblance to certain types of dance movements. In principle, two basic types of alternation (PPQQ and PQPQ) are found in these grounds. K4 starts with the four strains that make up K1 (P52, Q52, P53, Q53), but reorders them in a way that actually resembles the structure of a dance movement with varied repeats (P52, P53, Q52, Q53), with the whole movement being varied again in two *doubles* (PPQQ PPQQ), before breaking the regularity somewhat towards the end (PPQ PQ). In addition to structural characteristics similar to those found in dance movements with varied repeats, some grounds also use rhythmic-melodic writing that is typical of particular dances from the period, such as the almand (for common-time grounds) and the saraband (for


triple-time ones). This is, however, less apparent in Polewheel's Ground, and has been discussed in more detail elsewhere.⁶⁸

Figure 9: Theoretical derivation of the imitation in diminution in strains P2 (In19) and P57 (K2)



P-In19, bars 1-5 (strain P13), with a strict diminution of bars 1-3 of the ground in cue-size notes



P-In19, bars 6-10 (strain P2)



P-K2, bars 31-35 (strain P57)

⁶⁸ Schönlaui, 'Creative Approaches', 50–51.

Figure 10: Imitation in diminution in bb. 51–55 of In23 (unique strain), with notes in implied ground blue and those in implied diminution red

Ground in diminution (halved note-values)

P-In23, bars 51-55

Ground

The presence of both features in a significant number of grounds suggests that there was some overlap between dance movements with written-out varied repeats, and grounds with a bass pattern in two sections. It also indicates a widespread practice of improvising divisions when repeating strains of dance movements, indicating that '[d]ivisions on double grounds could have their origin on [sic] a tradition of diminution on the basses of binary ensemble dances'.⁶⁹ Indeed, according to Simpson, the basses of 'Aires [...] differ very little from the Nature of Grounds', and '[t]hese Aires, or Allmains, Begin like Other Consort-Aires; after which they Repeat the Strains, in divers Variations of Division',⁷⁰ demonstrating that it was indeed common practice to improvise divisions on repeating the strains of a dance movement.

Conclusion

The ground bass generally known as Polewheel's Ground had strong connections to the network of English Jesuit colleges on the continent,⁷¹ the earliest sources of which are manuscripts for bass viol, an instrument which was strongly associated with English Catholic musicians.⁷² Andrew Woolley has

⁶⁹ Del Amo, 'Anthony Poole', 67. Cf. the discussion of divisions to several of William Lawes's Harp Consorts in GB-Ob Mus. Sch. D. 238–240, also dating from the 1630s, in P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers* (Oxford, 1993), 262–263.

⁷⁰ Simpson, *Division-Violist*, 49.

⁷¹ See Ashbee, 'Polewheel and his Ground', 1–13.

⁷² Del Amo, 'Anthony Poole', 45–46.

demonstrated how English Catholic musicians in the late seventeenth century were vital in transmitting continental music and musical styles to England and vice versa.⁷³ Some of the sources considered in this article had been copied mostly on the continent; in each of these cases, however, there is a strong connection to England through the transmission routes of English Catholics.

Strains in different versions of Polewheel's Ground usually retained their order and were copied *en masse*, unlike in some later grounds, such as Farinel's Ground (the *folia*), where the strains were often rearranged and mixed with strains from other sources.⁷⁴ This difference may have to do with the fact that individual strains in Polewheel's Ground are less self-contained, since 'P' strains conclude on the fifth scale degree and cannot, therefore, conclude a set of divisions.⁷⁵

The two versions of Polewheel's Ground in *The Division-Violin* suggest that the harmonization of division grounds was rather more inconsistent than one might think. This raises questions as to how performers, especially those improvising divisions, would have dealt with potential clashes between diverging harmonizations. The discrepancies between different harmonizations of the same ground also suggest that performers and especially improvisers would have had to come up with strategies to avoid otherwise harsh clashes such as raised versus natural thirds, or 6/3- versus 5/3-chords.

Composers' treatment of the ground's repetition reflects the strongly improvisatory basis of seventeenth-century instrumental training. Consequently, studying such grounds can give us an indication of how performers in Restoration England would have improvised entire pieces based on a more or less consistent harmonic framework.

⁷³ A. Woolley, 'The Mary and Elizabeth Roper Manuscript Revisited' (forthcoming). I thank Andrew Woolley for kindly sharing a draft version of this book chapter with me.

⁷⁴ This is explored in more detail in a forthcoming article on Farinel's Ground.

⁷⁵ It is for this reason that the anonymous ground in GB-Lbl Add. 31403, ff. 31v-33r, appears incomplete, as it concludes with a division on the first strain of the ground and therefore on the fifth scale degree. Note, however, that Thomas Mace seems remarkably unconcerned when he states that his '*Lesson for your Hand* [...] may be *Divided* (as it were) into 13 *Several strains* [...] So that you may (if you please) leave off at any of *Those Places*', especially since some of those thirteen strains do not conclude with the first scale degree (T. Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London, 1676), 209). See also Herissone, *Music Theory*, 218.

JOHN JENKINS: FANTASIA-SUITES

JOHN CUNNINGHAM

John Jenkins: Fantasia-Suites III, ed. Andrew Ashbee, MB CIV (London: Stainer and Bell, 2019). xxxvii+186pp. ISBN: 9780852499566 ISMN: 9790220225451. £105

The latest Musica Britannica volume (MB 104) is the sixth in that august series wholly dedicated to John Jenkins's consort music (which also features heavily in a seventh):¹ only John Blow has as many single volumes.² It is no accident that Jenkins's music features so prominently. The editor of the present volume (and four of the previous MB ones), Andrew Ashbee has been championing his music for over half a century, as readers of this journal will be aware. Indeed MB 104 is the final instalment in the series of fantasia-suite volumes (with MB 78, 2001; and MB 90, 2010), which mean that all of the almost 80 fantasia-suites by Jenkins are now available.

Jenkins and his contemporaries did not use the term 'fantasia-suite', which was a term coined by Thurston Dart to describe suites comprising a fantasia followed by one or two dances. A parallel but independent development to the trio sonata, the fantasia-suite was invented by John Coprario in the early 1620s in the household of the then Prince Charles for an ensemble known as 'Coprario's Musique'. In a clear reference to the repertoire, in the 1664 edition of the *Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick* Playford recalled Charles's affection for 'those incomparable Fantazies for one Violin and Basse Viol to the Organ, Composed by Mr. Coperario'. He wrote 24 of these suites following the fantasia-alman-galliard pattern, scored for one or two violins, bass viol and organ (MB 46). Arguably the best-known examples of the genre were written by Coprario's mentee William Lawes, who composed 16 suites in the same scoring (eight for one violin; eight for two) and structure (MB 60). They too formed part of the repertoire of chamber music heard in the inner rooms of Whitehall, during the reign of Charles I. Lawes took the Coprario model to new heights and are among his best works. Jenkins too saw the potential in this nascent genre and became its most prolific exponent. As noted, he wrote almost 80 fantasia-suites, over about four decades. Christopher Field first sub-categorising them in 'Groups', of which he identified eight.³ (As a side note, the companion volume to Ashbee's *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins* (1992) has now been published – dedicated to the suites, airs and vocal music, it will be essential reading and offers a detailed

¹ *Restoration Music for Three Violins, Bass Viol and Continuo*, ed. Peter Holman and John Cunningham, MB 104 (2018). Volumes wholly comprising music by Jenkins: MB 26 (1969; rev. 1975, ed. Ashbee); MB 39 (1977), ed. Donald Peart; MB 70 (1997), ed. Ashbee; MB 78 (2001), ed. Ashbee; MB 90 (2010), ed. Ashbee; MB 104 (2020), ed. Ashbee.

² Matthew Locke has five volumes, with a sixth in preparation; by contrast William Lawes has only two in the series.

³ All but one of the Groups are now available in the MB series: Group I = MB 104; Group II = MB 78; Group III = MB 90; Group IV = MB 104; Group V = MB 26; Group VI = Fretwork (1993); Group VII = MB 78; Group VIII = MB 104.

examination of all eight Groups.) While not as well-known as the fantasia-suites of Lawes, some of Jenkins's suites are not only fine examples of the genre but represent some of the best chamber compositions of the period. Lamentably, relatively few are available in modern recordings. MB 104 presents Groups I and IV: both are scored for treble, bass and organ. The former are among Jenkins's earliest explorations of the genre and should be considered alongside the Group II suites (MB 78).

Ashbee's introduction offers a fascinating and authoritative account of the Jenkins suites and their immediate contexts; he also helpfully situates them within the genre, elucidating important stylistic connections and influences with the fantasia-suites of Coprario and Lawes. As with much of Jenkins's music it is difficult to pinpoint an exact chronology for the fantasia-suites. The earliest copies of Groups I and II date from the 1650s and 60s; however, Ashbee concludes that they were written in the 1630s and early 1640s for performance in the households of the Derham (Norfolk) and L'Estrange families in which Jenkins served (though the exact dates are unclear); he did not receive a court appointment until the Restoration. Jenkins no doubt had access to courtly circles and, as Ashbee notes, must have met Lawes by early 1634 during preparations for *The Triumph of Peace* masque in which they both performed (and for which Lawes wrote music): Jenkins's elegy published in 1648 suggests a mutual respect and friendship. Jenkins had access to courtly repertoire and certainly knew the fantasia-suites of Coprario, which are found among the manuscripts associated with the Derham and L'Estrange families – it is tempting to imagine those of Lawes being performed there too, but there is no evidence. The Jenkins Groups I and II suites do not appear to have been disseminated as widely as those of Coprario or Lawes, again likely a symptom of their close court connections.

Outwardly the Jenkins 17 Group I suites – which occupy the majority of MB 104 – follow the structural principles established by Coprario, and used by Lawes. Each is in the three-movement form: fantasia, almain, ayre (i.e. galliard). Writing with court musicians in mind, Coprario and Lawes could rely on court violinists, and specified the scorings as for one or two violins, bass viol and organ (indeed Coprario's suites are ground-breaking in specifying violins). Jenkins was more at the mercy of available resources, labelling the top part only as 'treble' and composing in a style that would suit either viol or violin. There are often parallels in Jenkins's contrapuntal approach with the easy sophistication of his viol consorts in the fantasias, which tend to build from a quasi-fugal opening; he avoids the more angular part-writing of Coprario or Lawes. While not as harmonically adventurous as the suites of Lawes, Jenkins impressively traverses eleven keys on each of the seven tonics, preserved in the main source (Bodleian Library, MS Mus. Sch. C.81) in ascending order F-F-g-G-a-a-A-Bb-Bb-C-c-d-d-D-D-e-e. By comparison Lawes employed a more systematic tonal approach wrote two sets of eight suites, on four tonics: g-G-a-C-d-D-d-D. Ashbee suggests that Jenkins's patron Sir Nicholas L'Estrange, may have been influential in this rigorous tonal exploration: in his 'fastidious attention to organisation and accuracy' L'Estrange might have 'encouraged Jenkins to supply a range of pieces embracing all seven tonics, composing new works to fill any gaps' (xxvii). Given that Lawes and Jenkins were writing their fantasia-suites around the same time and both in reference to Coprario one naturally comes up against questions of

cross-influence. Coprario clearly exerted an influence on both of the younger composers but direct links between Lawes and Jenkins's early fantasia-suites are not obvious: indeed comparison tends to reveal more internal differences than similarities.

With the exception of nos. 12 and 15, the Group I suites lack virtuosic division-writing that became so important in many of Jenkins's fantasia-suites from Group III onwards. We see this contrast explicitly in the two Group IV suites with which MB 104 concludes. These two suites appear to have been composed about a decade or so after Jenkins's first experiments in the genre, and are more similar to the Group III suites (MB 90) and to the Group VI fantasia-airs, both of which are notable for the virtuosity of the divisions. While the Group I and II suites conclude with galliards, the Group IV suites end with the more modern corant. As Ashbee points out, such pieces are comparatively rare in the English repertoire. We see perhaps the seeds of the virtuosic style in Group I, nos. 12 and 15, which I have suggested elsewhere may also show the influence of Lawes's suite in D major (VdGS 135). Lawes's fantasia is rather different to the rest of his fantasia-suites, and Ashbee suggests that perhaps it was 'copied or reworked after the rest of the set' (xxvii) and so may have been reworked in light of Lawes's encounter with Jenkins's virtuosic writing. This is certainly possible, though any reworking is difficult to date: I have elsewhere suggested that VdGS 135 was reworked c.1638, slightly earlier than the Group II or IV pieces appear to have been composed.⁴ The main conclusion to draw, may simply be that these pieces are evidence of an emerging new approach in the late 1630s and early 1640s were beginning to explore this newly virtuosic style in the fantasia building on the shared principles of the art of division. Ashbee is right to highlight the quality of these two suites, and to lament the fact that there are only two: in them Jenkins offers a lesson in the assimilation of virtuosity. They must be considered highpoints in the division repertoire.

As one expects from a MB volume, this collection of suites is impressively presented to Stainer and Bell's usual high standards. The standard of editing too is excellent: the principles are clear and sensible; the commentary unfussy, uncluttered and easy to navigate. The organ part only survives complete for the first fantasia of the Group IV suites; the rest have been expertly reconstructed (the partly figured bass part does survive for several of the movements). Given the high quality of the music one hopes that its being made readily available will encourage performances and recordings. The price may put off some readers but presumably Stainer and Bell will shortly issue performing parts – at which point there is really no excuse!

⁴ See John Cunningham, *The Consort Music of William Lawes, 1602–45* (2010), 184–200.

NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTORS

DAVID PINTO has played with the Jaye Consort and the English Consort of Viols, among others. His editions include some of the major chamber works of William Lawes; his investigations into sources have uncovered a major seventeenth-century collector of instrumental and vocal music, John Browne (Clerk of the Parliaments), and part of his collection in the library of Christ Church, Oxford. He also identified (within the same Aldrich Bequest there) the other comparable collection by Sir Christopher Hatton II, patron of Orlando Gibbons, and his son Christopher 1st Baron Hatton. His playing edition of John Amner's consort anthems, released at the end of 2015, adds reconstructions of those in manuscript t those published exactly four centuries beforehand.

POLLY SUSSEX, was born in Australia but moved to New Zealand at an early age. She studied violoncello and piano in Prague and at the Royal Academy of Music in London. Later she studied for her B.Mus. Hons., and Ph. D. (*The Violoncello Sonatas of Luigi Boccherini*) at the University of Otago, New Zealand. She also holds diplomas in Teaching and in Arts Administration from the University of Auckland, New Zealand.

More recently, she became interested in the viola da gamba. In 2007 and 2008, Polly undertook postgraduate studies in viola da gamba at the Hochschule fuer Kuenste, Bremen, North Germany with Hille Perl and at the Scola Cantorum in Basel, Switzerland with Paolo Pandolfo. She plays all sizes of viola da gamba, including the pardessus.

Polly Sussex performs and teaches piano, violoncello and viola da gamba; she also researches Baroque cello and viola da gamba music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Her article *Boccherini: the "Tenor and "Alto' Violoncelli and the Stift Seitenstetten*, was published in *Boccherini Studies Volume 5*. In 2020, her article *The High-Baroque French style of Viol Bowing and Use of the enflé in the Works of Marin Marais*, will be published by Academic Studies Press, Boston, in a new series entitled, *Studies in History and Sociology of Music*.

Polly performs with the Baroque chamber groups, *Affetto*, *Vivente* and *Hausmusik*. For recreation, she plays an English square piano of 1835.

STEPHAN SCHÖNLAU. Born in Cape Town, Stephan Schönlau studied musicology, music theory and piano at the Hochschule für Musik 'Hanns Eisler' Berlin, the Hochschule für Musik und Tanz Köln, and at the Universität zu Köln. He obtained his Ph.D. in Music from the University of Manchester in 2019 with a thesis supervised by Prof. Rebecca Herissone on 'Creative Approaches to Ground-Bass Composition in England, c.1675–c.1705', which is open access and available through the following link:

https://www.research.manchester.ac.uk/portal/files/151701981/FULL_TEXT.PDF

The analytical methodology of his thesis is based largely on contemporaneous compositional theory and thereby enables a deeper understanding of musical thinking at the time. It was generously supported by the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (German Academic Exchange Service), the North West Consortium Doctoral Training Partnership and the University of Manchester's McMyn award. From June to September 2016, he was on a PhD placement at the British Library, London, working on the project 'European music print culture in the 16th and 17th centuries'. He has taught previously at the University of Manchester and at the Hochschule für Musik und Tanz Köln, and currently teaches music theory and analysis at the Universität der Künste Berlin.

JOHN CUNNINGHAM is a Reader in Musicology and Director of Research at the School of Music and Media, Bangor University. He completed his PhD at the University of Leeds in 2007 under the supervision of Peter Holman. In addition to a wide range of book chapters and articles, he is the author of *The Consort Music of William Lawes, 1602–1645* (Woodbridge, 2010). John is a Senior Fellow of the Higher Education Academy. He is also a member of the editorial committees of the Purcell Society and of Musica Britannica. His current projects include a volume of Matthew Locke's consort music (with Dr Silas Wollston) for the Musica Britannica series, and an edition of trio sonatas written in England by English composers, c.1695–1714. His edition, with Peter Holman, of *Restoration Music for Three Violins and Bass*, Musica Britannica 103 was published in 2018.